This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

3 3433 06665818 2

Monitor
CK

THE
MONITOR:
OR,
British FREEHOLDER,

FROM

AUGUST 7, 1756, to JULY 16, 1757,
both inclusive.

Pro REGE *et* GREGE.

VOL. II.

YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

LONDON:

Printed for J. SCOTT, at the *Black-Swan* in *Pater-noſter-Row.* M. DCC. LVII.

THE
NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Astor, Lenox and Tilden
Foundations.
1899

27659

To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM PITT, Eſq;

One of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State;

And the Right Honourable

HENRY BILSON LEGGE, Eſq;

Chancellor and Under-treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.

PARDON, Gentlemen, our boldneſs, in taking this freedom with your names, without your conſent or privity; for which we have nothing to plead, but a preſumption, that you are devoted to the ſame cauſe, and warmed by the ſame principles, which theſe papers endeavour to ſupport and inculcate; ſuch preſumption is no more than common candour, when in your ſhort-liv'd adminiſtration, you gave early proof of it, in the plan you had adopted, and the meaſures you purſued. And we cannot doubt, but the nation would in a little time have felt its good effects, had your power been as great, and as laſting, as your fellow citizens wiſhed.

THE neceſſities of the times, and your confeſſed abilities, which before called you to high places, have reinſtated you in thoſe places again: and ſhall we queſtion, whether you will react the great part, as before, when the reaſons of doing it are more urgent than ever.

TRUE honour is nothing but virtue with a new name, and is as fixed and immutable, as the divine Being that inſpires it: it may indeed, and muſt put on different habits, and appear in different lights, as times and circumſtances vary, but in itſelf it is always the ſame thing, and will never ſtoop to thoſe dark and mean condeſcentions, which are characteriſticks of the little corrupt heart; there is a native majeſty in virtue, that cannot bear this.

YOU need not, Gentlemen, be in any pain for your modeſty; we mean not to coſt you even a ſingle bluſh; for although part of our province be to commend merit, wherever we find it, yet we chuſe not to be premature, and ſhall leave it to futurity, to blow the full trumpet to your fame.

THE venal panegyriſt is a creature of a quite different complexion: he leaves it not to time to fix the character, but anticipates it; he draws not from life, but fancy, and thus forms—

A faultleſs monſter, which the world ne'er ſaw:

and yet behold! the little vain ſoul ſwallows all down, as his own, and thinks it no more than a handſome likeneſs.

YOU, Gentlemen, have too much good ſenſe not to ſee; too much merit not to deſpiſe the feeble aids of ſuch proſtituted ſcriblers; you pierce through all their thin diſguiſes, and diſcern clearly, that in addreſſing others, they mean nothing but themſelves, and offer incenſe only to ſteal off with the golden cenſer.

AWAY

AWAY then, ye hireling-tribe; to your dark and dirty garrets; wiſe and good men have no buſineſs for you; and thoſe marks of honour which many large communities, above all, the METROPOLIS, have conferred upon theſe ſuppoſed friends of their king and country, are worth more than a thouſand volumes of your laboured elogies! and ſhould their future conduct demonſtrate, that the publick opinions were well grounded, they will be the glory of the preſent age, and the wonder of times future; for next to the founding of nations is the honour of ſaving them from ruin.

HOWEVER, Gentlemen, be your intentions ever ſo pure; your accompliſhments ever ſo conſummate; we view you nevertheleſs as men, and expect to find upon you the marks of humanity: error is inſeparable from man; but the wiſe and the good cannot err frequently, knowingly, and groſsly; and as to leſs important overſights, it would be inhumane, not favourably to paſs them over; a forgetting, that we alſo are men of like paſſions and infirmities. Beſides, your ſituation too is invidious; like cities, ſet upon hills, you cannot be hid, nor eſcape the arrow, that flieth in the dark; but what of this? true glory is a ſolid thing, and the arrow will rebound without making an impreſſion: let diſappointment; let envy; let ſlander then empty each its quiver, the purſuit of ſolid glory will bear out your characters.

The world, once convinced by facts, that you aim

aim at nothing but the true glory of your King, and the true intereſt of the nation, will do you juſtice: For pray, what is the true glory of a prince, but the proſperity of his people? what the proſperity of his people, but the glory of his reign? they ſtand or fall together; and the man who attempts to divide them, as things independent, is a TRAYTOR to both.

You cannot be inſenſible, Gentlemen, that the voice of the nation is on your ſide (and is not this the nobleſt panegyrick?) for, what is the voice of the nation, but the echo of your own preſumed integrity, built upon paſt facts? and FACTS ſpeak a language which all underſtand.

Go on then, Gentlemen, in the paths of ſolid glory: The doing all in your power to redeem the credit, and raiſe the character of this fallen nation, will build you a monument, that will laſt as long as time: nor is this all; for, a conſciouſneſs of it will enſure to you a happineſs, which ill men never felt, and the ſelfiſh cannot taſte; but it is food celeſtial to the worthy man, whoſe heart Generoſity has enlarged, and Virtue ſanctified.

We are,

GENTLEMEN,

Your devoted ſervants,

The EDITORS.

THE

MONITOR,

OR,

Britiſh Freeholder.

No. 53. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 7, 1756.

You have yet an opportunity by God's bleſſing to ſecure to you and your poſterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion, and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourſelves; but will exert the ancient vigour of the Engliſh *Nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occaſion, you have no reaſon to hope for another.*

K. WILLIAM's laſt Speech to his Parliament.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE advice of this great prince to his parliament to proſecute the war with France, in order to check its inſatiable ambition, is ſurely adapted to the preſent times.—Dangerous as the ſituation of this nation was then, it is cer-

tainly more ſo now;—partly from the augmented power of the enemy by trade, and navigation; partly from thoſe internal maladies, which have been long working in our own bowels.—The loſs of Minorca; the contempt thereby brought upon our navy; the diſhonour upon the nation, heretofore ſo brave, as to be the terror of all, who dared to injure, or inſult it, are the ſubjects, the ſerious ſubjects of all converſations; and I ſend you an abſtract of what paſſed the other evening at our club.

You know, Sir, in all ſuch mix'd aſſemblies, there are perſons of different talents, and humours: ſome are ſilent; others love to talk; a few think; and here and there, one has a flow of ideas, and volubility of words, which qualify him to take the lead: of this laſt claſs, two were diſtinguiſhed above the reſt: one of them was Sir *Thomas Downright*; the other Mr. *Timothy Splithair*.

Sir Thomas was an honeſt gentleman in the neighbourhood, of ſome education, and tolerably verſed in our Britiſh hiſtory; a true lover of his king and country; and a champion for its conſtitution, as founded upon principles of liberty: but having a little fire and brimſtone in his blood from his mother's ſide, who was a Welch lady, he was prone to be choleric, in queſtions eſpecially, that concerned the proſperity and honour of his nation.

Mr. *Timothy Splithair* had a different turn and temper; cool, cautious, inſinuating, and a great refiner

refiner of ſentiment; he was not abſolutely a courtier, but having received a ſmall favour from the m——r, was edging on his ſide; and when any body bore hard upon his meaſures, he had a curious talent of diſtinguiſhing, and could gloſs over matters ſo neatly, as would cheat a vulgar eye.---Theſe two gentlemen principally engroſſed the talk: and the ſubſtance of their diſcourſe was as follows.

Well, neighbours, ſays Sir *Thomas*, you ſee Minorca is gone at laſt; notwithſtanding the brave governor and garriſon held it out five weeks after the fleet deſerted them; and our hopes and fears are now decided: but take the whole buſineſs, from the beginning to the end, both in plan and execution, with its ſurpriſing ſcenes; it forms ſuch a tragi-comedy; and is upon the whole, ſuch a blot upon the preſent times, that I defy the moſt painful ranſacker of our annals to produce its rival: the affair of Leſtock and Matthews in the laſt war, was a triumph, in compariſon to this; and what a ſad omen is this at the beginning of a war? what a clog will it be upon our negotiations, when we come to treat of peace? for my part, I cannot for my life ſee, what we can hope, what not fear; till we have ſome better proofs of the wiſdom and integrity of our m——ry, till ſome other of our admirals have ſignalized themſelves in ſome eminent action, and recovered the credit of the Britiſh flag.

THIS is not the clamour of the people only; for, were that the caſe, our deep-intrenched m——s might, perhaps, laugh at, and deſpiſe it; but it has reached the very throne itſelf:—The arreſt of Byng, the moment he reached the Engliſh coaſt, is a proof of this; and a proof likewiſe, that the m——y are forced to give way to the reſentment of the nation: and ſhould he upon conviction be condemned, as a traytor to his King and Country, and offered up to the *manes* of thoſe brave men, who fell in St. Philip's defence; I hope, like petty villains, he will make his dying ſpeech; and to eaſe his conſcience, and make his peace with heaven (if ſuch comprehenſive iniquity can be forgiven) diſcover all his aſſociates, if there be any, without reſpect of perſons: remorſe of mind may poſſibly extort, what a love of his country could not; and if he does this, he makes all the atonement in his power, to an abuſed, and deluded people. There are perſons, I know, ſuch infidels in this matter, that be his guilt what it will; they declare, they would ſtand in his ſhoes for five ſhillings, as to the danger of a legal death: they conſider him, as ſkulking, like others before him, behind the ſhield of an omnipotent m——r: but I will not believe, notwithſtanding what is paſt, that impunity is the ſtanding rule even of our preſent ad—n; or that it is poſſible for ſuch a criminal, if found guilty, to be diſmiſſed with the ſoft penalty of a reprehenſion, when every drop of his blood,

and

and every inch of his body ſtands a debtor to national juſtice.

Sir Thomas, I agree with you in the main, but let us have a little patience: if Byng be the c——d and ſc——l, we have too much reaſon to fear no puniſhment can be too great for him: a man, who kills another, muſt pay the forfeit of his life: nay, a poor ſcurvy rogue, who ſtops you on the highway, and robs you of a ſhilling, is obnoxious to the ſame puniſhment: what then is due, or rather, what is not due to the man who plunders, or ſtabs his native country; and whoſe miſchief ſpreads itſelf, as wide as his infamy? but, as I ſaid, Sir *Thomas*, let us not prejudge! let the whole evidence be before the court, and then, and not till then, paſs ſentence: I know, Sir, you are a candid man, and would not in a private cauſe, judge by another rule; and let not your zeal for the public, though it ſprings from a virtuous principle, tranſport you even to wiſh a thing, which in your cooler moments you might ſee cauſe to retract: the diſgrace of our fleet in the Mediterranean, and the ſad conſequence of it, I view in the ſame light, and feel with the ſame ſenſibility, as you do; but let us not be caſt down too much; when it is poſſible at leaſt, that this diſgrace and loſs, may in a little time be in ſome meaſure repaired; we may have the good fortune, perhaps, under a brave commander to retake the iſland; and then the laurels our enemy has gathered will ſoon wither; and the expence of his expedition be a kind of

triumph over himself. As to our m——y, I am willing to think they will for their own sak chuse to go to the bottom of this affair; and hope, the justice of the nation will take plac so far as the guilt of the admiral, and other shall be made evident.

Mr. Splithair, you are for ever refinin and by the artful juggle of your, *perhaps's* a *may-be's*, call off our attention from the ma point. As to what our m——y will do, t best way of judging is, by what they have don if the plan be as defective as the execution, a it seems so to me, it may be their interest smother, not to clear the business: and may persons, I beseech you, be bought to sw away the life of the nation, as well as the of a single person? I say no more of this present: but sure you are in jest, when you insinuate our retaking the island: What, do y think the French will leave a weak garrison the fort, like us? the papers say, (and is it probable?) that seven thousand men are there; and had our garrison been equal to t number with the heroic Blakeney at their he they might have defied the army of the ene and held it out, in spite of all their efforts, such a fleet might have been sent, as must h raised the siege: whether such a fleet wo have been sent, is one thing: but that such a could have been sent is certain; and why i was not sent at first, ought to be explained, must be explained before the jealousy of

nation will ſubſide; who (laying all circumſtances together) may think that the iſland was from the beginning devoted; and that Byng's expedition was only a mock affair, to ſence againſt the foreſeen reſentment of the people. But if this was not *the Caſe*, what was it? was it ignorance? was it ſupineneſs or indifference? what was it?—Theſe are diſtinct articles from Byng's conduct, which alone cannot ſolve our perplexities.

But tell me, Mr. *Splithair*, what probability there is of retaking this iſland and fort:—ſuppoſe we have a more powerful fleet in thoſe ſeas, than any our enemy can face: what is to be done? the fleet alone can't take the fort; and under the preſent menaces of the enemy againſt our mother country, can forces be ſpared? what then can this fleet do, beſides protecting our merchant-ſhips in thoſe ſeas? they may ſtarve the garriſon, you will ſay? but can you think our vigilant enemy has not laid-in vaſt proviſions, to add to the ſtores found there, when there was nothing to hinder him; and would not the detention of ſo large a fleet, diſtreſs our other ſervices? may not North-America? may not the Sugar Iſlands want a fleet? nay; do they not want one now, and the French ſhips ride triumphant in their ſeas? and if the enemy has the addreſs to divide our fleets, and draw us off from the other principal objects of our attention; may they not be ſuperior to us in a particular part? This project then of retaking,

I conſider as nothing more than the bubble
a romantic fancy; like a tub thrown out
the leviathan, the people to play with, whi
the harpoons are plunged in their ſides.
ſhort, Sir, can any honeſt Briton forbear ſuſpe
ing, in this whole affair, a complication of
norance, ſupineneſs, cowardice, and poſſil
French Louis d'Or's: — but I forbear, for n
Byng, and other ſuſpected perſons are co
home, we ſhall hope for further lights.

SIR THOMAS, I find you have a genius
jealouſies and ſuſpicions; but you know, t
prove nothing; and in ſuch a perplex'd ſt
as we are in, it is not eaſy to ſay, what is
beſt plan of policy, even although you were
the cabinet: how much more then for us p
vate perſons, who can only judge from a f
outward appearances? conſider, Sir *Thomas*,
vaſt armies the French have upon the oppo
coaſts; and ſhould they attempt an invaſion
this iſland, ought not our principal care to
employed at home?

To be ſure Mr. *Splithair:* and what the
ſuppoſe I was apprehenſive, that ſome ruffi
intended to break open my manſion-houſe;
would be prudent to be ſure, to have a pro
ſtrength within to defend it, but would it
prudent to collect ſo much ſtrength there, as
to leave ſufficient for my full barns and ſto
houſes? Our colonies abroad are the full ba
and ſtore-houſes of the nation; if theſe
ruined, our trade and navigation are gone,

tl

then we are no more a people. Beſides, have we not camps upon camps, and trains of artillery diſperſed up and down the kingdom, ready to face any ſudden invaſion? but how are our enemies to come over?

CAN you aſk that, Sir *Thomas*?—Yes; I do.—Why! in tranſports, and flat-bottomed veſſels.—That may be, I grant; but muſt we not have notice of the preparations for ſo vaſt a deſign? it cannot poſſibly be a ſtolen affair; and moreover, can you believe the enemy will engage in ſo bold an attempt, without a fleet to cover it? No, Mr. *Splithair*, that is not his manner; no nation, perhaps, ſtands clearer of quixotiſm, than the French: and tell me I beſeech you, where is that fleet? have they any one ſhip of force north of Breſt? and is not the fleet in that harbour, block'd up by Boſcawen?—but ſuppoſe it ventures out, and beats Boſcawen?—Mr. *Splithair!* give me but a ſuppoſition or two, and I'll prove any thing: but ſuppoſe Boſcawen beats them? are not the tables then turned? but put things at the worſt; that Boſcawen be beat; have we not ſtill a vaſt reſerve of men of war in our home ports? are they to be beat too?—why! then the game is over.—But I will not ſuppoſe all theſe diſaſtrous events, and be ſcared out of my ſenſes by improbabilities and maybe's. It would be wiſe in our m——y, I grant, to ſecure us well at home, which they may at any time effectually do, by arming our own people; but let not our home

ſecurity

ſecurity be ſo much attended to, as to neglect our remoter wants; for in that caſe, our ruin will be certain, though it may be deferred.

Sir Thomas, you ſeem to be in no great terror about this home invaſion:—not in ſuch a terror as if the French were landed; and think we ſhould keep our ſenſes clear and ſedate, to be in a proper condition to receive them ſhould the attempt be made. As we are ſo much upon our guard; poſſibly this dreaded invaſion is no more than a menace, poſſibly it may be a feint, a ſtratagem, for which the French are famous, to put our ſagacious m—— upon a wrong ſcent, and engroſs their whole attention, whilſt they purſue remoter ſcheme. You will not ſay, but this may be; and therefore let us be wiſe, but not over wiſe; a good maxim, but a fooliſh thing for all that: and pray God too large a portion of this ſpecies of wiſdom fall not upon the head of our m——rs and quite turn their brains; for then, what ſhall we do?

Well, Sir *Thomas*, heaven grant, this apprehended invaſion be no more than a feint; a ſtratagem of the enemy; but ſhould it happen it may throw us all into confuſion at once; and we may become a conquered nation; and how would you like to be a province to France, and governed by a French viceroy?

Zounds, Mr. *Splithair*, what do you mean we a province to France? we governed by a French viceroy? Sir, did I not hold you in jeſ

jeſt, you would make my very hairs ſtand an end: what the caſe may be in a few years, if we go on upon the ſame ſyſtem of prodigality and corruption, and all our money be ſquandered away, no man can ſay; but this I will ſay; if we are conquered, and undone at preſent, we are conquered and undone by our m——y. Shew me the Briton, who is not ready to take up arms in the defence of his King and Country, were he permitted, by a good militia-bill?

Sir Thomas, you preſs too hard; there are thouſands that view them and their meaſures in a quite different light:—what then? are there not thouſands, whoſe intereſt it is to do ſo? but, Sir *Thomas*, I entirely agree with you, that things are not yet ſo deſperate, and I hope never will; but ſhould the Daniſh and Swediſh ſquadrons join the French; or under the maſk of ſubſidiaries be added to their navy; what the event may be, the great diſpoſer of all things only can foreſee! Mr. *Splitbair*, the proper time to ſpeak to that point is when it happens; but whatever ſhall happen, the virtuous and brave Briton, will have no cauſe to be aſhamed of himſelf; he may in the day of his tribulation call for water, waſh his hands, and ſtanding bold and erect, upon the baſis of his own integrity, cry out in the face of the world, "I am free from the blood of my country; ſee ye to it." And ſhould its plunderers, its betrayers with a m——r at their head, audaciouſly anſwer;

ſwer; " Its blood be upon us and our chi dren;" let their names be regiſtered in the an nals of this nation in the blackeſt character and remain eternal monuments of infamy an miſchief.

Oh, Sir *Thomas!* you are too warm; yo ſeem all on fire:—And will not the provocatio bear me out? we a province to France! wh once conquered it: we govern'd by a Frenc viceroy! who had one of our kings crowne at Paris: we, whoſe King to this day wears th title, though the kingdom has been for age loſt: 'Blood, Sir! the very mention of it make me mad! pray, good Sir *Thomas*, be appeaſed I was not in earneſt, and only bolted out th hints among the many idle words, which in ſenſibly mix themſelves in our familiar di courſe: I believe, we are in no danger of thi notwithſtanding your unfavourable opinion o our ſtate-pilot, and his aſſeſſors.

The company obſerving Sir *Thomas*'s colou go and come, and not knowing in what h choler might end, called for a toaſt; one im mediately gave the immortal Blakeney; an his rougher paſſions ſubſiding into pity and ad miration, the reſt of the evening was ſpent i table-talk, and the eaſy unbendings of thei little nocturnal aſſemblies. I am,

D Mr. Freeholder,

Your very humble Servant,

JONATHAN STANDFAST

Leather

Leather-Market, LEADEN-HALL, Tueſday, Auguſt the 3d.

THE price of *Leather* is conſiderably *fallen*, which, as we apprehend, is owing to a diſagreeable report, propagated without Temple-Bar, that LEATHER-SHOES will ſoon be out of faſhion, and that next winter it will be eſteemed very *unpolite* to appear in any auguſt, courtly, or genteel aſſembly, without either WOODEN-SHOES, or WHISKERS.

No. 54. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 14, 1756.

Righteous Lips are the delight of Kings: and they love him that ſpeaketh right.

PROV. xvi, ver. 13.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT is the greateſt advantage of a nation, ruled by a virtuous and wiſe King, that the ſubjects, while they keep within the limits of *truth* and *decency*, are not debarr'd from opening their hearts before the throne, and cannot fail of redreſs againſt the moſt artful oppreſſive miniſter, when

when the cauſe of their juſt complaints ſhall l
diſcovered; wherever this has been denie
either royalty, or liberty has expired under tl
miſeries of anarchy, or tyranny.

THE flattering tongue may artfully inſinua
itſelf into the favour of the Prince, and by fal
lights draw him into meaſures and connectio
derogatory to the honour of his crown, a
ruinous to both his family, and to his ſubject
but he muſt be very deficient in his capacit
either as a ruler, or a rational creature, ſhou
he continue deaf to the remonſtrances of a pe
ple, who are the origin of his power, the ſour
of his riches, and the natural defence of h
perſon, crown, and dignity; and, become lil
RICHARD the *Second*, who riſked the affectio
of his ſubjects, and brought his dominions in
contempt, by ſupporting or conniving at tl
proceedings of Lord Chancellor *Poole*, Chi
Juſtice Treſſilian, and the Duke of Ireland:
wicked miniſtry! men raiſed from mean eſtat
by ſpecial favour, and advanced to the degr
of privy counſellors! men, who enticed wi
the baits of voluptuouſneſs, and infected wi
the inſatiable itch of avarice, deſpiſed the ſ
vereign, under whoſe authority they acted; n
glected the intereſt of the nation; exhauſt
the public treaſure, enſlaved the people wi
levies and ſubſidies, and expoſed them to t
contempt and to the arms of their ambitio
and perfidious neighbours.

WH

WHEN theſe things were made manifeſt, it was not the deep intrenchment of the privy council, nor theſe batteries, maſked by the authority of the captivated king, that could defend them againſt the *righteous lips* of a periſhing nation. The nobility ſeeing the miſerable ſtate of the kingdom, bleeding as it were to death, deſpiſed the overtures and ſervices of the corrupt miniſtry; prevailed with Richard to refer the juſtice of his ſubjects complaints, to the judgment of parliament: which diſmiſſed the Chancellor from his office, impriſoned his perſon, and confiſcated his large eſtates, accumulated by extortion and injuſtice; or, at leaſt, by an extention of the privileges of his office: and by the King's conſent conſtituted a commiſſion of the ſtates, with full power to order and diſpoſe of the public affairs, in ſuch manner as to them ſeemed moſt conducive to retrieve the deſperate condition of the commonwealth, depreſs civil diſſentions, and to pacify and appeaſe the murmurs of the people.

AND as I am convinced, in my own mind, that we never had a Prince on the throne, down to theſe times, willing to be accounted, either leſs capable of diſtinguiſhing between the ſubtleties, or private intrigues of his miniſters, and the intereſt of his crown and ſubjects; or leſs inclined to give bad miniſters up to the reſentment of an injured nation, when convicted of miſconduct, or mal-practices, there can be no doubt of your advancement in the eſteem of

his

his Majeſty, if, in the preſent conſternati
when all parties are crying out for juſtice agai
the authors of our misfortunes abroad, and
grievances at home, you'll continue *to ſpeak*
thing that is right, till the voice of truth ſh
eccho about the throne.

Is not this the nation, whoſe King
crowned at Paris, and has always been the t
tor of France, when her Kings have not b
miſled by ignorant, or corrupt councils? are
the very arms * that to this day, adorn the G
lic diadem, and under which they beat th
enemies, the gift of our Edward III? did
England without one ally; with only the ſtren
of her councils, the ſteadineſs of her ſoverei
and the arms of her natives, defy the rich
armies, and politics of Spain, and both the
dies? was not our Elizabeth dreaded and car
ed by every ſtate in Europe, though ſhe ma
tained neither a ſtanding army, nor entered i
ſubſidiary treaties? did not her miniſters pre
the riches of the people to the fulneſs of
exchequer? and even in thoſe reigns, wh
have been branded with corruption in h
places; it is remarkable, that the French g
was applied only to gain a party, in the Brit
councils, for preventing quarrels between
two crowns; and not to tie our hands, or
us to ſleep, while they lop'd off our limbs.

* The original arms of France, were *Three Toads*, w
upon his Conqueſt of that kingdom, our Edward III, chan
into three *Fleur de Lis*.

W

WAS there ever a race of Britons ſo paſſive as to be ſilent under an adminiſtration, which had drained them of their riches; incumbered them with an immenſe debt; diſguſted their allies; diſarmed their fellow ſubjects; hired and imported a numerous army of foreign mercenaries; diſtreſſed their trade and navigation by preſſing, by want of ſhips in proper ſtations, and of reſolution to diſtreſs the enemy; waſted the national treaſure in buying ſeats in p——t, and in penſions to their own creatures, and left our iſlands and ſettlements in America, as well as the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Mahon, deſerted and expoſed to the power of a hoſtile rival in trade?

WILL it not be *right* to enquire into the truth of theſe complaints? and into the danger of ſuch proceedings? is not every Britiſh ſubject at liberty? is it not his duty? is it not his intereſt to ſpeak *what is right*, when his king, his country, his property, freedom, laws, and religion are at ſtake, and muſt ſuffer for want of timely admonition?

SHOULD a King ever be ſo unhappily circumſtanced as to be ſhut up from his Britiſh ſubjects by FIVE or SIX *artful men*; who, after diſcovering his particular affections, ſhould endeavour to ſecure the poſſeſſion of power in this nation, by yielding to every meaſure, which his natural foible dictates for the welfare and ſecurity of a favourite country, while both men and money are wanting to defend Britiſh property. Let him be told;

THAT thoſe counſellors betray his confide who hide from him his real intereſt; whi to conform ſtrictly to the original contract the people, that made him a King; to into no treaties at the expence of Britain, ſuch as this nation can avail herſelf upon, fo defence of her trade, navigation, and domini and explain to his Majeſty the little depend there can be on treaties with potentates, regard our intereſt no longer than they are in good humour with our money, and ar ways ready to treat with the beſt-bidder. before him the impoſſibility of our main ing ſubſidiary alliances, whether we con the immenſe charge they are of to the natio their contradictory ſtipulations. Make him ſible of the decay of our commercial inte as well as power on the ocean; for wan ſpirit to inſiſt upon the privileges of our chants, and dignity of the Britiſh flag, firmed by ancient treaties: and remonſ againſt the imbecility of a m——y, which mits to the modern ſtratagem of carrying val ſtores, ammunition, and proviſions to enemy, under convoy of our pretended frie

CAN it be imagined, that a King, when fully informed that his beſt ſecurity is in th fections of his ſubjects, and that every me which tends to diminiſh that mutual confid neceſſary to ſupport him againſt the com enemy, is ſowing the tares of diſconten jealouſy; will ever oppoſe the moſt ſal

means of defence by a general militia, a law to impower the people to defend their King and themſelves, or what they both by duty and intereſt are called upon to do in caſes of emergency; or prefer the unconſtitutional eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding military power, and the moſt expenſive, and hazardous introduction of foreign forces, in preference to the ancient, equitable, eaſy, and natural method, by which this nation has hitherto deſpiſed the moſt powerful invaders? had ſuch a law been now in force, it is very clear that Britain would have ſaved, in this year only, not leſs than two millions of money! And certainly a nation armed in its own defence; eſpecially ſuch a nation, as hath always carried victory on the point of its ſword; when permitted to fight its own battles; muſt have deterred France from taking the advantage of us diſarmed, and obliged, on every alarm of an invaſion, to depend on auxiliaries from the heart of Germany, or from the borders of Siberia or Tartary; whoſe embarkation alone is ſo expenſive, that by driving us to ſuch a meaſure, the enemy, without ſtriking a blow, exhauſts our treaſure, and renders us incapable of oppoſing their attempts and encroachments on the remote parts of the Britiſh dominions.

No doubt but his Majeſty is properly affected with the loſſes of the crown and of his ſubjects in America and Europe. But this cannot really appear to the ſatisfaction of the ſubject, till

there is an *enquiry*, not only into the *con* of the officers employed, but into the *meas* taken for their prevention. The ſending Braddock, without providing another gen to take the command in caſe of his death, an overſight productive of many evils: the (ferring the chief command and managemen the American war (with the appointment (Duke of Marlborough) on a gentleman, by his profeſſion in the law, could not be pected adequate to the neceſſary knowledg military operations, againſt an enemy rem able for their martial ſkill, is an inſtance of bad œconomy in the diſpoſal of the public ney, and of a ſhameful neglect or imprudenc thoſe, who committed the principal ſeat of preſent quarrel to the conduct of one, who, (very capable of civil employments) had never fore, as I am told, appeared in a military capa

THE loſs of Minorca is certainly, in a great m ſure, to be aſcribed to the conduct of Mr. B But is his blood the ONLY ſatisfaction the n is to expect? will it not be as neceſſary to *quire*, why the fleet ſent for the relief of hon, was put under the command of a whoſe character, in the late war, was not 'agreeable to our good ally the King of S 'nia?' Was he ordered to bombard, Ge did he perform the ſervice? why did he was he afraid of the ſmell of gunpowde did he love the touch of gold? a man with putations upon him, was the laſt that ſh

have been commiſſioned for a ſervice, which required the utmoſt courage and fidelity; and whoſe failure would ruin our trade in thoſe ſeas. If it be true, that he was ſent too late; or with too weak a force: or with ſuch inſtructions, as left the relief of Mahon, as a matter of indifference: for all theſe exeuſes are made in favour of the delinquent: does not common juſtice to the priſoner, as well as to the public, demand of that m——r, who delayed his ſailing orders till the enemy had landed and ſtrengthened himſelf with all his force at Minorca. Why he kept the fleet at Portſmouth, after it was ordered to ſea? ſhould not the miniſter, who had it in his power to ſend a force ſuperior to that of the enemy, and was acquainted with the ſtrength of the French fleet, be accountable, for riſking the dignity of the Britiſh flag, and the intereſt of the nation, by abridging our naval power? and at all adventures his inſtructions ought to appear; for, it would be cruel to take away a man's life, for not doing what he had neither ſtrength nor poſitive orders to execute: and if theſe inſtructions were as equivocal, or defective, or unintelligible, as it is reported thoſe were, ſent to General Fowlke governor of Gibraltar; there could be little trouble in finding out the incapacity, or t—ch—y of thoſe, who had the direction of that important and unſucceſsful expedition.

Mr. MONITOR! theſe are ſome of thoſe things, which your fellow-ſubjects think they

have a right to mention *before the King*, and to expect a ſpeedy juſtice on the delinquents, whoever they be: and *as righteous lips are the delight of Kings:* as nothing is here intended to miſlead or to ſpirit up diſcontent againſt his Majeſty or his family; and nothing, but what, upon the ſtricteſt examination will eſtabliſh his throne in righteouſneſs; there is the greateſt probability, that if theſe reach the throne, they, who have brought the nation into the preſent diſtreſs, will meet with their due puniſhment: the nation be reſtored to its natural ſtate of defence: and ſuch meaſures purſued as to regain our credit and intereſt amongſt our natural allies, and force our enemies to ſubmit to the terms of a glorious and laſting peace.

P

As I think every *artiſt*, whoſe labours tend to the welfare of mankind, entitled to encouragement, it is with the greateſt pleaſure, that I communicate the following piece of information to my readers.

This is to acquaint the PUBLIC,

That there is juſt arrived in Town from BERLIN,

A famous POLITICAL OCULIST,

Who undertakes to perform the following moſt ſurpriſing Cures upon the PEOPLE of ENGLAND, *viz.*

HE engages, by the moſt gentle and ſafe operation, to remove the *films* of *prejudice* and *ignorance*, ſo effectually, from the eyes of the well-

well-meaning ſubjects of this realm, that they ſhall ſee in the cleareſt light, *That* ONE Engliſhman *cannot beat* THREE Frenchmen.

LIKEWISE he promiſes, that they ſhall be able to perceive, in a very ſhort time, that it is the moſt unjuſtifiable *imprudence*, to ſend out a *force*, but *barely* a match for the enemy, when there is an *ability* of over-powering him by *ſuperiority* of *number*.

HE undertakes, in a few hours, to enable any *Engliſhman*, however his ſight may have been impaired by the ill-uſage of QUACKS, to bear the glare of light, reſulting from a peruſal of the following axiom in *Politics*, viz. *A* FOREIGN ARMY *is a very precarious ſecurity to a* FREE STATE: *for, the ſame power, which can* PRESERVE, *may* DESTROY.

HE will approximate objects, in ſo aſtoniſhing a manner, that thoſe, whoſe organs have never been able to reach ſo far, ſhall entirely take in this truth:—*Men, who are entruſted with a command, as a* REWARD *for having* BETRAYED *their country in* ONE *place, will hardly riſk their lives, to ſerve it in* ANOTHER.

HE is ready, by the application of an *eye-water*, of a very harmleſs compoſition, to make any perſon whatever penetrate into the darkeſt receſſes of that no leſs intereſting, than perplexed affair, relating to the Reverend Father A. B. of the *Society of Jeſus*, Eſq; clerk of the Buck W——ts.

HE hopes not to be conſidered as a vain *pretender*, if he confidently promiſes, by means of *artificial pupils*, to throw ſo much light in upon a certain gloomy BENCH, as will diſcover, that *infidelity*, *immorality*, *contempt of the clergy*, &c. though they may favour a *ſyſtem*, grounded upon *venality*, and a total *extinction* of every virtuous principle, are by no means favourable to the *Church of* ENGLAND, but give the moſt dangerous advantages to ROMISH *miſſionaries*, and *ſectaries*.

LASTLY, he undertakes ſo far to ſtrengthen the *viſual nerves* of the CONSTITUENTS of GREAT-BRITAIN, that they ſhall, without the aſſiſtance of a microſcope, perceive the *latent principle of the diſſolution of the Conſtitution*, in every BRIBE *they* receive.

THIS artiſt ſcorns to make uſe of *puffs*, but hopes he may be permitted to ſay, that he has had the honour of attending ſome of the *greateſt perſonages* in EUROPE. He had the care of the King of P—a's *eyes*, from the commencement of the laſt war, to the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*: —he was moſt courteouſly received at the court of *Turin*; was introduced by the preſident of the parliament of *Paris*, to the moſt *Chriſtian* King (now, the *French* King); and would have had the honour of *couching* his Majeſty, if the operation had not been prevented by the archbiſhop of *Paris*.

IN ſhort; it would favour too much of *vanity* if he ſhould enumerate the ſeveral marks of

d.

diſtinction he has received from numberleſs ſtates and potentates; but he begs leave to recommend himſelf to the NOBILITY and GENTRY of *this* country, by aſſuring them, he is a *ſincere Proteſtant*, and had the glory of being thrown into the *Inquiſition* in *Spain*, upon the firſt notice of his pretenſions to *open the eyes of mankind*.

N. B. HE is to be heard of at all hours, from ſeven in the morning to eight in the evening, at his houſe near *Charing-Croſs*. Enquire for MYNHEER VAN HARTSOEKER.

EXTRAORDINARY.

No. 55. MONDAY, *Auguſt* 16, 1756.

Containing the Genuine SPEECH *of a* Common-Councilman *at* ATHENS.

All the beſt *men did join in the work that was then to be done.*

SYDNEY, cap. iii, §. 40.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

UPON lately reading over the hiſtory of the declenſion of the Grecian ſtates, I found all the marks of treachery, corruption, and degeneracy; accompanied with the ſame effeminacy, ſupineneſs, and indolence, as have fatally been

been manifested in the adminiſtration of fo
modern ſtates. Players, ſingers, and danc
engaged ſtateſmens attention, with a more v
lent paſſion than the buſineſs of the publ
and yet with all their proſtitution of manne
there is not the leaſt mention of any vortex
vice and folly, analogous to the effeminacy, p
digality, and trade of gaming notoriouſly pr
tis'd in ſight of St. James's. The Athen
rulers, on whom the public placed their
dendance in the management of their treaſu
and in the defence of their country, were
ſo ſhameleſs as to let the people know, t
they employed the moſt of their time in ga
ing-houſes, when the dangerous ſituation of
ſtate required all their attention and conce
But if you chuſe to print the following extra
from *Demoſthenes*, who was *one* of the *Comm*
Councilmen of ATHENS, the reader may co
pare within his own breaſt, what reſemblan
our preſent times bear to them; in which
ſpoke the following oration.

AFTER the *proedri*, or lord-mayor's offic
had aſſembled the Common-Council of Athe
then at war with PHILIP, the cryer invited a
perſon preſent to give his opinion: Demoſthe
gave his in the following manner, addreſſi
himſelf to the *Common-Council*, of which
was a very honourable member.

AS I am perſuaded, Athenians! that y
are now convened about affairs of the great
momen

moment; ſuch as affect the very being of the ſtate: I ſhall endeavour to ſpeak to them in the manner moſt agreeable to your intereſts.

"THERE are faults of no late origin, and they are gradually increaſed to no inconſiderable number; which have conſpired to involve us in the preſent difficulties. But of all theſe, what at this time moſt diſtreſſes us, is this; that your minds are quite alienated from public affairs: that your attention is barely engaged, juſt while you are aſſembled, and ſome new event talked of; then each man departs, and far from being influenced by what he hath heard, he does not even remember it. The inſolence and outrage with which PHILIP treats all mankind are really as great, as you hear them repreſented. That it is not poſſible to ſet bounds to theſe, by the force of ſpeeches and debates, no one can be ignorant: for, our arguments in words are irreſiſtable. Is he then deſtroyed by this? and are our affairs advanced? By no means! for as he proceeds to take up arms, leads out his troops, and is ready to hazard his whole empire in purſuit of his deſigns; while we ſit here pleading, or attending to thoſe, who plead the juſtice of our cauſe; the conſequence (and, I think, the natural conſequence) is this; actions prove ſuperior to words, and mens regards are engaged, not by thoſe arguments, which we have ever advanced, or may now advance, how juſt ſoever, but by the meaſures we purſue: and theſe are by no means fitted to protect the injured ſtates.

"WHEN

"WHEN PHILIP *would* bribe thoſe, who are capable of ſelling their integrity, he hath a PERSON in his intereſt ever ready to ſupply them. Whilſt we Athenians! are not only deficient in ſtrength, but unable to awake from our indolence, like men reduced by ſome potion to a lethargic ſtate.

"IN conſequence of this (for I hold it neceſſary to ſpeak the truth) we are fallen into great infamy and contempt amongſt our neighbouring ſtates.

"I call the Gods to witneſs, that I would not willingly incur your diſpleaſure; but I would have you know and ſee, that in public, as well as in private affairs, continued indolence and ſupineneſs, though not immediately felt in every ſingle inſtance of omiſſion, yet in the end, muſt affect the general welfare. You ſee this in paſt inſtances of —— and ——. It is ſhameful, Athenians! to deceive yourſelves, and, by deferring the conſideration of every thing diſagreeable, never once to move until it be too late.

"WHEN the peace was made, we began with neglecting *theſe places*. When he ſaw this did not rouze you, and that you ſent no aſſiſtance, his attempt upon *Megara* was well nigh ſucceſsful: ſtill you were inſenſible, expreſſed no impatience, no inclination to oppoſe him. I paſs over many ſuch like acts of his. For, it is not my deſign to give a detail of PHILIP's acts of outrage and injuſtice; but to convince you, that the property and liberty of mankind

mankind will never be ſecure from him, until he meets with ſome effectual oppoſition.

FIRST then, Athenians! be firmly perſuaded of this, that PHILIP has violated the peace, that he has the moſt implacable enmity to this whole city, to the ground on which it ſtands, to the very Gods of this city (may their vengeance light upon him!) but againſt our conſtitution is his force principally directed: the deſtruction of this, is of all other things, the moſt immediate object of his ſecret ſchemes and machinations! he aims at univerſal power, and YOU he dreads as the only perſons to diſpute his pretenſions. He is perfectly convinced, that although he were maſter of all other places, yet it is impoſſible for him to be ſecure, whilſt YOUR popular government ſubſiſts.

"OBSERVE his manner of attacking you: imitate it in your oppoſition: ſupply thoſe, who are now oppoſing him with money, and whatever elſe they want; raiſe your ſupplies; prepare your forces, gallies, horſe, tranſports, and all other neceſſaries for war.

"AT preſent your conduct muſt expoſe you to deriſion. Now I call all the powers to witneſs, you are acting as if PHILIP's wiſhes were to direct you, opportunities eſcape you; your treaſuries are waſted; you ſhift the burden of public affairs upon others, break into a paſſion, criminate each other. But you, O men of Athens! although poſſeſſed of the greateſt power of all kinds, ſhips, infantry, cavalry, and treaſures,

ſures, yet to this day have never employed any of them ſeaſonably; you are always laſt in the field. Juſt as unſkilful boxers engage at boxing, ſo you make war with Philip: for, when one of theſe receives a blow, that blow engages him; if he is ſtruck in another part, to that part his hands are ſhifted: but to ward off the blow, or watch his antagoniſt,—for this he hath neither ſkill nor ſpirit. You, on your parts, have no uſeful ſcheme for carrying on the war, no wiſe proviſions ever thought of, until you hear of ſome enterprize, in execution, or already crowned with ſucceſs. This formerly might have been pardonable, but now is the very critical moment, when it ought by no means to be tolerated.

"I will now ſhew whence theſe diſorders have proceeded, and point out the proper remedy. You have never, Athenians! made the neceſſary diſpoſitions in your affairs at home, or armed yourſelves in time; but have always been led by events. Then, when it proves too late to act, you lay down your arms. If another incident alarms you, your preparations are reſumed, and all is tumult and confuſion. But this is not the way. Turn your eyes to the men of whoſe adminiſtrations theſe are the fruits. Some of whom from the loweſt ſtate of poverty have ariſen ſuddenly to affluence; ſome from meanneſs to renown: juſt as the ſtate hath fallen, their private fortunes have been raiſed. Formerly the people dared, to take up arms

arms themſelves; were themſelves maſters of their miniſters; but now, on the contrary, favours are all diſpenſed, affairs all tranſacted by the miniſters: while you, quite enervated, plundered of your riches, robbed of your allies, ſtand in the mean rank of ſervants and aſſiſtants. And what is of all moſt ſordid, you hold yourſelves obliged to them for that which is your own. But if you will at length be prevailed on to change your conduct; if you yourſelves will take the field, and act worthy of Athenians; if thoſe enormous ſums, which you collect at home, be applied to the advancement of your affairs abroad; perhaps my countrymen! perhaps, ſome inſtances of conſummate good fortune may ſtill attend you. And to this purpoſe,

" You muſt guard the public money with the ſtricteſt attention: oblige thoſe *treaſurers* to anſwer for the ſums they have ſquandered, and your *commanders* for their conduct in the field. What one may call the neceſſity of freemen, not only preſſeth us now, but hath long ſince been felt; that of ſlaves, it is to be wiſhed, may never approach us!

" How do theſe differ? To freemen, the moſt urgent neceſſity is diſhonour: a greater cannot, I think, be aſſigned: and now the neglect of thoſe things, to which your lives and fortunes ſhould be devoted, it muſt be confeſſed, is by no means juſtifiable. Far from it! ſome pretence however, may be alledged

in

in its excuſe. But to refuſe, even to liſten to things, which demand your utmoſt attention, which are of the greateſt moment to be fully conſidered; this deſerves the moſt ſevere cenſure.

"IT may be ſaid, you have departed, Athenians! from the plan of government your anceſtors laid down. You are perſuaded by your leaders, that to be firſt among the Greeks, to keep up your forces ready to redreſs the injured, is an unneceſſary and vain expence. You are taught to think, that to lie down in indolence, and to be free from public cares, to abandon all your intereſts one by one, a prey to the vigilance and craft of others, is to be perfectly ſecure, and ſurpriſingly happy.

"HENCE every opportunity which might have been improved to your advantage, hath been ſold. The eaſe and ſupineneſs in which you are indulged, have diſarmed your reſentment againſt the traitors; and thus others are ſuffered to poſſeſs your honours. As to the plundering of your treaſury, this muſt be prevented by finding ſome effectual way to guard it; not by neglecting your intereſts. Nor can I but expreſs the utmoſt indignation, when I find ſome of you complaining that your treaſures are plundered; though it is in your power to ſecure them, and puniſh the guilty.

"SINCE then you are engaged in defence of all that is dear to you, apply to the great work with an attention equal to the importance of it:

it: let the wretches, who have openly ſold themſelves to this man, be the objects of your abhorrence! let them meet with the utmoſt ſeverity of public juſtice: for, you will not, you cannot conquer your foreign enemies, *until you have puniſhed thoſe*, who *lurk within your walls*. No; they will ever prove ſo many obſtacles to impede our progreſs, and to give our enemies the ſuperiority.

" You have ſunk, by your indolence, from glory to diſgrace: from wealth to poverty. For, the riches of a ſtate, I take to be the number, fidelity, and affection of its allies! in all which you are notoriouſly deficient, and that occaſioned by your total inſenſibility. While your affairs are thus falling into ruin, the enemy is become great, ſucceſsful, and formidable to all the Greeks, to all the Barbarians; and you are deſerted, and become inconſiderable. Sumptuous, indeed, are your ſhews; but in every thing relating to military power, you are ridiculous.

" You have now heard truths of the higheſt moment, urged with all freedom, ſimplicity, and zeal. You have heard a ſpeech, not filled with flattery, danger, and deceit.

" It remains therefore, that the whole tenor of your conduct be reformed. If not; that utter deſolation, which will be found in your affairs, muſt be imputed wholly to yourſelves.

" LET theſe things be duly weighed, nians! and deeply impreſſed upon your n Spare no expences requiſite, let a gener dor appear for taking arms, appoint *abler h* than you have *hitherto* choſen; for, it mu be imagined that the men, who from a of proſperity have reduced us to theſe dif ties, can again extricate us and reſtore our former ſplendor. Nor is it to be exp that if you continue thus ſupine, your will find better aſſertors."

E

No. 56. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 21, 1

We will take care that they, who have not their duty ſhall be puniſhed; and will u endeavours that the power at ſea ſhall be r managed for the future.

K. WILLIAM's Speech to Parliament,

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

TO *the glorious and immortal memory of* WILLIAM, though it be a common made uſe of by many of my acquaintanc cauſed much debate about its propriet what title that Prince has to *glory* and *i tality* above any of his predeceſſors or ſuc on the throne of Britain; and I muſt c ſo much had been ſaid on both ſides the tion, that it was not eaſy to decide, wheth

ſhould remember him with pleaſure or abhorrence; till a good honeſt Tar undertook to ſet his character and memory in a clear light, with a few *items* how his ſucceſſors may obtain a right to the ſame title.

It was unanimouſly agreed, That the *righteous* are to be held in *everlaſting* remembrance: but the difficulty lay in proving the *righteouſneſs*, with which his Majeſty was adorned, his actions alledged by one party in his juſtification being frequently traverſed to his diſcredit by the oppoſition.

How great! how good! ſays one, was the Prince, that delivered this nation from the iniquitous attempts of a Popiſh miniſtry to ſubvert our religion, laws, and liberties? how glorious does he ſhine in the defeat of our enemies? how immortal in thoſe acts, by which Great-Britain is guarded againſt all innovations in church and ſtate?

Ah! replies the opponent, was there no way to deliver the nation from a bad miniſtry, but by dethroning the King? did his goodneſs manifeſt itſelf by driving his miſguided father-in-law into exile? or, his greatneſs, in wearing that diadem which he had forced his conſort's father to abandon? this was an exceſs in the politics of thoſe, who had invited the ſtadtholder to aſſiſt them in removing the evil counſellors from about King James, and in ſecuring the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties, property and religion, by the advice, and authority of a free parliament.

HE proceeded to leſſen the glory of his by calling to mind the affair at Glenco the continual biaſs towards the intereſt native country, in all his military and proceedings; and would not allow thoſ to be immortal, which might be repea the influence of a future bad miniſtry.

THE debate grew warm, when a gentl who had been bred to the ſea, and ſerv Majeſty, under Admiral Ruſſel, in the 1692, interpoſed, and undertook to cle the argument to their mutual ſatisfaction.

IT is not my buſineſs at preſent, ſaid I enquire into the ſtrict juſtice of *all* King liam's actions, by which he acquired and tained the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh crown do I think he is anſwerable for breaches upon our conſtitution by the ſeptennia that great encouragement of bribery an ruption! or by the repeal of ſeveral cla the act of ſettlement, *&c.* I ſhall confin ſelf to that part of his conduct, which ſailor, I am moſt converſant with; and I am ſatisfied, no party can blame: worthy of imitation.

ADMIRAL RUSSEL, who gave a ſignal to the French fleet off of La Hogue, a abled them from invading England, bein ſured on his return home by ſome perſon preſumed, he might have carried his much further by making a deſcent, drew him the wrath of the Earl of Nottin

then ſecretary of ſtate, and the reſt of the miniſtry, by throwing the blame upon them; and thereby expoſed himſelf to the loſs of his majeſty's favour, who, yielding too much to the reſentment of his miniſtry, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to diſmiſs the admiral from his employment, though the houſe of commons, by their ſpeaker, thanked him publickly for his fidelity, courage, and conduct. An inſtance of the power of a miniſter, who abuſes the confidence repoſed in him by his royal maſter! when the Earl of Nottingham, through whoſe *dilatory* or *unintelligible* inſtructions, the ſervice of our country was impeded, found means ſo to cover his own *ignorance* or *neglect*, as to gain more credit with the King, than the reſolutions of his faithful houſe of commons!

However, many circumſtances ſoon concurred to undeceive the ſovereign. In particular, the parliament, convinced of the inability of the Secretary of State to conduct a war of the laſt importance; and ſenſible of the hazard the nation ran, by confiding to the management of a ſingle man, adviſed his Majeſty; 'That for the future, all orders for the manage-'ment of the fleet ſhould paſs through the 'hands of the Lords of the Admiralty:' and the misfortunes, which in the following year, were brought upon the nation, by giving the chief command of the fleet to admirals, that had very little either of fidelity, conduct, or

courage to recommend them, clear'd his c from the miniſterial philm, that ſo freque intercepts the light of truth in the ſigh monarchs.

IT muſt always be remembered to his pra that his Majeſty ſtrictly conformed to the a vice of his commons; diſmiſſed Nottingh from his ſervice; replaced Admiral Ruſſel the head of his fleet; at the next ſeſſion parliament, he urged an immediate *enquiry* in the miſcarriages, under the miniſterial admira and engaged to his people, that all delinquen ſhould be puniſhed. For, when the parliame met, he began his ſpeech with declaring, 'Th 'he was glad to meet them there, and that h 'could heartily wiſh the common ſatisfactio 'were not leſſened at preſent, by reflecting upo 'the diſadvantage they had received, this yea 'at land, and the miſcarriages in the affairs *a* '*ſea*: that what related to the latter, which hac 'brought ſo great a diſgrace to the nation, he 'had reſented it extremely; and as he would 'take care that thoſe, who had not done their 'duty ſhould be puniſhed, ſo he was reſolved 'to uſe his endeavours, that the power at ſea 'might be rightly managed for the future.'— Glorious and immortal words!

HERE was no contrivance for gaining of time, or putting off an inquiry into meaſures and the conduct of men, which had thrown the nation into the greateſt diſcontent and fear, and expoſed them to the inſults of the enemy: nor

was

was the grand cauſe of the nation committed to the private deciſion of a *court-martial*.

THE whole nation ſuffered both in its property and honour by thoſe men and meaſures; and nothing leſs than a *national enquiry*, before the repreſentatives of the people, was thought ſufficient to detect their villainy, and to appeaſe the enraged ſubjects.

THIS Auguſt aſſembly found the inſtructions and orders given to the fleet *weakly* drawn, *ambiguous*, and *defective*, but worſe executed; and was of opinion, from the many delays and reſolutions of councils of war, that it had been *purpoſely* contrived for our fleets, not to get out of our ports, till the French were ready to lay wait for them; and therefore, that there had been notorious, and treacherous miſ-management: but as they could not find out where to fix the particular blame, the good intention both of the King and parliament was fruſtrated by the artifices and intereſt of the criminals. So dangerous it is for a people to truſt their defence to men, who by places, or an iniquitous diſpoſal of the public money, are able to pervert juſtice, or to prevent its taking place, even amongſt their repreſentatives!

NEVERTHELESS, this determination of the King and parliament to puniſh the miniſter, who ſhould be found incapable of giving orders, or through envy, or prejudice, or any other private account, ſhould prevail with his Majeſty to deprive him and his ſubjects of a faithful,

and experienced ſervant, to make way for commanders, whoſe courage had never been aſcertained, whoſe conduct had never been proved and whoſe integrity was not without ſuſpicio is to be had in *everlaſting remembrance*, a points out many uſeful inſtructions for poſterity; *viz.*

THAT the only means to reſtore our reputation at ſea, is for the King to join heartil with his parliament, in bringing to light th cauſes, and in puniſhing the authors and acceſſaries of the late miſcarriages, and diſhonou brought upon this nation in the Mediterranean.

THAT his Majeſty has it in his power to caſhier thoſe commanders in his fleet, who are found deficient; either as to their conduct, or integrity, without waiting for the uncertain iſſue of a court-martial; to prevent the promotion of men to the rank of admirals, whoſe effeminacy, ill-conduct, or imputations againſt their courage and fidelity, have rendered them obnoxious to the nation in general, made them the contempt of our enemies, and hateful, not only to our allies, but to our own ſeamen: and to ſupply the ſervice of the crown and country with thoſe brave tars, who in the laſt war gathered laurels, and ſtruck terror into the enemy, wherever they ſailed; defended the Britiſh coaſt in the moſt perilous times; ſcoured the ſeas, ruined the trade of the French, and erected the Britiſh ſtandard on the moſt diſtant and ſtrongeſt

fortifications of our enemies; notwithſtanding a brave admiral has been miſrepreſented for his attachment to the real intereſt of his King and Country by thoſe, who wanted his experience, at leaſt; and many gallant officers are obliged unwillingly to eat their country's bread in the obſcure retirement of ſome ſmall village, to expiate the private diſlike conceived againſt them by ſomebody, or to make way for the employment of men, whoſe connections in p——t and family intereſt to carry m——l meaſures, have over-balanced the qualifications neceſſary for a good ſea-officer. Is not even the man, whom the King himſelf, in the laſt war, delighted to honour with diſtinguiſhed marks of his favour, for his courage in burning the Spaniſh Gallies in the Bay of St. Tropez, kept in obſcurity at home? has Captain Callis ever refuſed to ſerve his country? has he ever been called upon? why has he not? would King William have ſuffered ſuch a valiant officer, now in the Vigour of life, to be loſt to his country?

He did not only reſtore the brave Ruſſel to the head of his fleet, but he gave ſhrewd hints that he ſuſpected the miniſtry, which had procured his removal out of the ſervice. They, who had dug the pit fell into it themſelves. Their incapacity and unwillingneſs to ſerve their country was ſoon perceived by that vigilant Prince: no embarkation, nor expedition ſucceeding from the time he had given way to the miniſter's recommendations of parliamentary officers,

ficers, his Majeſty, with great reaſon, ſuſpected a ſnake in the graſs; and obſerving that the merit, and the power of his ſervants heightened and increaſed, in proportion to the dwindling of his own authority, and the impoveriſhing of his ſubjects, he made ſhort work with them, who had drawn *weak*, *ambiguous*, and *defective inſtructions*, and *orders* for his fleet, and ſhewed his willingneſs to puniſh the SECRETARY, and other bad officers at home, as well as thoſe, who commanded at ſea; though they had taken care with the public money to ſecure a ſafe retreat, when called upon by parliament. So hazardous it is both to King and Country, to put it in the power of a miniſter to pack a parliament of officers and penſioners, whoſe very exiſtence depends upon their aſſiſtance of him in deceiving their ſovereign, in plundering their country, and in ſkreening him and themſelves from the reſentment of the nation.

HAD his reign been bleſſed with an admiral, who did ſuch wonders at Porto-Bello, King William would never have ſuſpended him, and employed one, who diſgraced his country before Genoa. Had Mahon been an appendage to his crown, no miniſter durſt have abandoned it to the arms of France. He would not have trifled away his time, nor put the nation to the expence of the tedious proceedings of a court-martial, nor kept the nation in ſuſpence, concerning the puniſhment of thoſe, by whoſe fault

it was obliged to ſurrender; but would have called his parliament, and delivered both his admiral and his principals to a *fair enquiry*. Where, it might be expected, neither private friendſhip, nor m——l influence would be able to prevent or obſtruct juſtice againſt a weak, or wicked miniſter. He, no more than his ſubjects could have been ſatisfied with the miniſterial art of ſhifting the ſcene of their miſconduct, backwards and forwards, till the ſcent was loſt; not perſuaded that all our attention under theſe loſſes ought to be confined to ONE man: for, as in all other ſtates and kingdoms, which tranſact their affairs by a miniſtry, certain perſons remain anſwerable to the public for the management of each department; they, who by their offices give inſtructions and orders, and have the SOLE authority of appointing the force, command, fitting out, and proceedings of the navy, ought not to be excuſed for their *incapacity*, *indolence*, or *overſight*, when the nation ſuffers by their *deficiency*. And a m——y, which endeavours to ward off the blow from themſelves, by throwing all the blame of a fleet's miſcarriage upon the commander in chief, when he pleads ORDERS for what he has done, and a *want* of *neceſſaries* to face the enemy, or to do, what was left undone; or attempts by any means to ſacrifice him to the rage of the nation, without producing authentic minutes of their own tranſactions for his direction and ſupport, ought never more to be truſted by their King and country.

WHAT

WHAT gives the greateſt weight to a Prince in ſecuring his intereſt abroad, is the opinion which foreign potentates conceive of his abilities from the independency he preſerves amongſt his miniſters: for when they once learn that his ear is poiſoned by a ſubtle favourite, or his heart is taken up with pleaſures, they make no doubt to obtain that by money, which could never have been gained by force. And it has been always found in this realm, that the misfortunes of our Kings were the effects of their ſtrong attachment to their miniſters, in oppoſition to the people; and that thoſe Kings have ruled with moſt eaſe and power, who took care that they, who had not done their duty, ſhould be puniſhed, I am,

A SIR,

Your humble Servant,

AN OLD WHIG.

No.

No. 57. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 28, 1756.

Identidem cogitemus, ſi majus principibus, præſtemus obſequium, qui ſervitute civium, quam qui libertate lætantur.

PLIN.

Let us conſider, which have the beſt claim to our obedience; thoſe Princes, who delight in ſlavery; or thoſe, who take pleaſure in the liberty of their Subjects.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IN a nation, whoſe conſtitution is founded on liberty, and whoſe Sovereign takes pleaſure in maintaining the freedom of his ſubjects, public calamities and imminent dangers are ſo far from leſſening their regard, that they animate them with more vigour and affection, to tender the tribute of their obedience to a King, and to promiſe their utmoſt efforts againſt his enemies; which in Britain is, on ſuch occaſions, commonly and legally expreſſed to his Majeſty in the form of an *Addreſs*.

WHAT then can be thought of thoſe ſubjects, who, under any pretence, would endeavour

vour to obſtruct the means of this natural intercourſe between the King and the ſubject, and deprive both his Majeſty of the greateſt token of his being beloved by his people, and the ſubjects, of the opportunity to expreſs their approbation or diſlike of meaſures, on which the honour of the crown, and the public ſafety manifeſtly depend?

An oppoſition of this kind from a *Jewdaizing* member! who ſtood *alone* in the council of the city of London for the naturalization of the Jews, might have paſſed unnoticed: or, had he been ſeconded by a deſcendant of ſuch republicans, who ſubmit to no King upon principle, it would have been deſpiſed: but to come from the ſenator, *idolized* by his fellow-citizens for his zeal on all former occaſions; and generally the firſt promoter of their addreſſes to the throne, when either the glory of the crown, or the liberties of the ſubject, or the national property have been expoſed to foreign, or domeſtic foes, or threatened by miniſterial ſchemes and miſconduct, is beyond comprehenſion! and not to be told without amazement!

For my own part, I can, and I preſume, from its gracious reception by his Majeſty, the King himſelf could find nothing in the city's addreſs that did not become the language of his ſubjects, in their preſent circumſtances, or unfit for the hearing of the ſovereign of a free people. Does it throw any blame of their ſorrows and complaints on his Majeſty? No. The citizens

acknowledge,

acknowledge, "with hearts full of gratitude, "his Majeſty's paternal care of the true intereſts "of his people." Was this too much for the opponents to acknowledge? Does it not condole with our Sovereign at "the diſquietudes which "our late loſſes and diſappointments muſt create "in the royal mind?" Have theſe gentlemen loſt all feeling; or grown ſo callous, as to remain inſenſible of the national ſorrow and apprehenſions at this juncture? or ſo deficient in their duty to their King, as not only to refuſe, but to ſtrive to prevent the firſt corporation of the kingdom joining in an addreſs, calculated "to alleviate and remove the diſquietudes, occaſioned by the loſs of Minorca; by the hazardous ſituation of our poſſeſſions in America; the danger to which this nation is expoſed for want of a conſtitutional and well-regulated militia: and to beſeech his Majeſty to direct an ENQUIRY into the authors "of our late loſſes and diſappointments, to cauſe "them to be puniſhed; to entruſt the management of the public treaſure in ſuch hands, "that the large ſupplies, ſo neceſſarily called "for, and ſo chearfully granted, may be religiouſly applied to the defence of theſe kingdoms and colonies, and their commerce, and "to the diſtreſſing of our inveterate and perfidious enemies: and to aſſure his Majeſty of "a readineſs and chearfulneſs, at all times to "contribute to whatever may be neceſſary for "the defence of him and his illuſtrious family,

"and

" and towards the attainment of a laſting and " honourable peace."

PROFESSIONS of duty, that were accepted with thanks by the ſovereign; and repreſentations of fears and diſlike, which he acknowledges to be well grounded, and worthy of redreſs. Could there be a ſtronger confirmation of the juſtneſs of the citizens apprehenſions for his Majeſty's diſquietude, than his declaration, " That his concern for the loſs of Minorca " is great and ſincere?" Did they aſk more than an *enquiry* into, and the *puniſhment* of the authors of our misfortunes? and does he not promiſe to do juſtice on thoſe, who ſhall be found wanting in their duty to their King and Country, and who have diſobeyed their orders, either by land or ſea? what then could induce that ſtrenuous oppoſition to the city's addreſs? I ſhould be loath to aſcribe to it a miniſterial influence over the father of the c—y? is it poſſible, that one, who has ſo often appeared againſt bad meaſures, and been forward in every propoſal to inform his Majeſty of the true intereſt of his kingdoms: who has recommended his wiſdom, his integrity and zeal for his King and Country, by his activity againſt the iniquity of a general exciſe; the indignity of the Spaniſh Convention; the removal of evil counſellors; the keeping up of a ſtanding army in time of peace, and againſt the exhauſting of the national riches in ſubſidiary treaties; the importation of foreign forces, and in an undue in-

influence in both houſes of p——t; could ever attempt to ſecrete from the fountain of juſtice, the danger, to which our property, our commerce, and even our liberty is reduced by the perſons, who have exhauſted the E—q—r in treaties, from whence Great-Britain can reap no advantage, and want no aſſiſtance; while the enemy has been ſuffered to tear out of the jaws of the muzzled lion, a fortreſs, whoſe loſs deprives us of our trade to Italy and Turkey, and our King of that dignity and weight, which his ſtrength, in thoſe ſeas, always enforced upon the ſtates on the Mediterranean ſhores?

Is it poſſible the ſame perſon could adviſe a war with Spain for procuring a free navigation in the Weſt-Indies; and obſtruct an enquiry into the cauſes, or authors, of the neglect of all our iſlands and ſettlements in America: by which they are well nigh delivered up a prey to that enemy, who is our greateſt rival in trade? could he ever act with ſincerity of heart againſt ſubſidiary forces, and a ſtanding mercenary army; who is afraid to remonſtrate the expediency of a conſtitutional and regular militia, both in point of ſecurity and œconomy to the nation? and ought not every man, that ſeeks to ſmother the crying ſin of the m——l miſapplication of the public money, be ſuſpected an abettor of the political thief, and a receiver of the public plunder?

Can any one deny, there have not been miſmanagements, and delays in our naval prepara-

tions; and in our military appointments? was there ſo much as an attempt by timely and effectual ſuccours to prevent, or to defeat the attack on Minorca? were not the enemy's intentions known *early* enough to ſecure that iſland and fort againſt all oppoſition? or was not his Majeſty's fleet ſuperior to theirs? how could it be expected, that three thouſand five hundred men, in want of engineers, and moſt of their principal officers, could be able, unrelieved for upwards of ten weeks, to defend Fort St. Philip, and its appendages, againſt eleven thouſand Veterans, under old and experienced officers, aſſiſted by able gunners and engineers, and in a capacity of being continually augmented with recruits? and ſhould the perſons guilty of this complaint be as dexterous in concealing the truth, and excuſing themſelves to their royal maſter, as in ſhifting the crime, which way could the Prince, who takes pleaſure in the liberty of his ſubjects, come to the knowledge of their grievances, had the m——l agents been ſufficient to ſtop their mouths from *addreſſing?*

Did not the preſent war commence; and were not the extraordinary ſupplies granted in the laſt parliament for the ſupport of the Britiſh right to the continent of North-America, and of our trade with the natives? and will any one accuſe us of diſloyalty, diſaffection, or diſobedience for expreſſing apprehenſions of the loſs of our trade and poſſeſſions, when it was notorious,

notorious, the enemy had not only ſtrengthened themſelves in their new encroachments, but were reinforced with men and implements of war for reducing our colonies to their obedience, before either troops, or officers, were ſo much as thought of for that ſervice by our miniſtry? is it not aggravating to the people, who willingly parted with near eight millions of money for the American war; to ſee the greateſt part thereof expended in hireing troops from Germany and Ruſſia; in uſeleſs fleets, and in leſs uſeful encampments, in an iſland where there's no enemy to be feared, when the deſtroying ſword of the uninterrupted foe has, for many months, depopulated, and carried devaſtation into moſt of our plantations?

When the ſubject is convinced, that none of theſe misfortunes are the effect of chance, but of weakneſs, or want of integrity: and that they are the harbingers of ſlavery, his *addreſs* to the Sovereign, and exertion of every other ſtep, which the conſtitution authorizes, ſhould recommend him to thoſe boneſt men, who wiſh to have England continue the ſeat of freedom and juſtice. How dear then, muſt they be to the King, who, in deſpight of m——l agents, and the tools of unconſtitutional power, have ſet an example, by ſo glorious and neceſſary a meaſure, to ſupport his dignity and crown, his dominions, and independency againſt his enemies abroad, and againſt thoſe, who abuſe his power and authority at home?

'To point out the misfortunes, which endanger the fundamental principles of our conſtitution, and bring liberty to the brink of ruin: and to endeavour to unite men of all denominations in the ſupport of the principles, and in the defence of the means, by which the juſtice, and honour of the nation are eſtabliſhed and maintained, is the duty of good ſubjects, and the *ſole* intention of their *addreſſes*. How deſpicable then muſt that pretended patriot appear, who, after many years, being called out to join in an affair of ſo great, and national importance, makes uſe of the confidence of his fellow-citizens to deter them from that duty? what a pity it is that ſuch patriots cannot be new caulk'd and new-bottomed like our ſhips, when they have laid long indolent in a ſtate of tranquility!—Would not, in ſuch a caſe, that capital ſhip, *the Sir John*, if thoroughly examined by a ſkilful maſter in politicks, be found moſt confoundedly eaten by miniſterial worms, and perhaps, be reported ſo rotten and craſy as not to be truſted on any future ſervice? but, wherever the enemies of our country ſhall be found, by ſea or land; at court or in the city; in town or in country; may ſelf-intereſt, diſſention and terror hunt them, and confound their meaſures! and may unanimity cement and guide thoſe, who mean the public and not their own emolument, in their oppoſition to unconſtitutional meaſures, and to men not fit to be truſted with the liberties and property,

property, the ſtrength, riches, and ſafety of this nation; and who have always paid the ſtricteſt obedience to thoſe princes, that took pleaſure in the liberty of their ſubjects, but never could be forced to ſubmit to thoſe, who delighted in ſlavery.

Q.

AN EDICT.

WHEREAS the loſs of his m——y's Iſland of Minorca, has given univerſal diſſatisfaction to the ſubjects of this realm, who, ſuſpending their particular diſſenſions, unanimouſly concur, in demanding a ſtrict ſcrutiny into the management, which occaſioned that unfortunate event: We, conſidering that ſuch an enq—ry would ſtrike at the very eſſence of our power, think proper to command, and do hereby command, all our truſty and well-beloved dependants, who hold c——s, either c—l or m——y; all expectants, levee-hunters, M—B—RS, *durante bene placito*, toad-eaters, *&c. &c. &c.* in all coffee-houſes, taverns, and places of public reſort, to inſiſt upon, and ſtrongly inforce, the miſbehaviour of a certain admiral, in the Mediterranean; thereby endeavouring, with their utmoſt power, to fix the diſgrace of the ſaid misfortune *ſolely* upon him, and divert the public attention, from the *original ſource* of the nation's diſhonour.

AND we do ſtrictly require all our ſeveral dependants, as aforeſaid, not to preſume, upon any account whatſoever, to ſignify, intimate, or ſuggeſt, the leaſt diſapprobation of the meaſures, we have thought proper, for reaſons beſt known to ourſelves, to purſue, at the peril of their commiſſions, places, or future proſpects; ſolemnly declaring, that not a ſingle ſhrug of the ſhoulders, or ſhake of the head ſhall, at this time of imminent danger to our authority, paſs unnoticed. Moreover, we recommend it to our good friends, as aforeſaid, to inſinuate, upon every proper occaſion, that the commander of Fort St. Philip might, notwithſtanding every diſcouragement, that could depreſs a garriſon, have held out, until a fighting admiral came to his relief. But this point, we direct, may be managed with great delicacy, being ſenſible, that it will be a matter of no ſmall difficulty, to derogate from the honour, which even the enemy concurs with the nation, in conferring upon that inflexible veteran.

THIS end, notwithſtanding, confiding in long experience, we hope, may be effected, by operating properly on the prejudices, entertained againſt the kingdom, which boaſts the glory of having produced that hero. And you are not to fail in a literal compliance with theſe our injunctions, CAR TEL EST NOTRE PLAISIR.

GIVEN

GIVEN upon mature deliberation, this 24th day of Auguſt, 1756.

CHATO—NEUF.
LOVEGOLD, C.
RENARD.
AQUAPULCO.

No. 58. SATURDAY, *September* 4, 1756.

Quo *res ſumma* loco, *Panthee!* quam prendimus *arcem?*

VIRGIL.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

WHEN a man's all is at ſtake, he has a right by the law of nature, to beſtir himſelf, and endeavour to ſecure it, if he can: and this right, which the law of nature gives, the laws of ſociety (unleſs he be a criminal) cannot take away. If this be allowed, I will venture farther to maintain, that, generally ſpeaking, when a man's country is at ſtake, his all is at ſtake: becauſe his country generally contains his all. And therefore, it is every man's private right, in times of public danger, to beſtir himſelf, and provide for the ſafety of his country; whether that be, by oppoſing ſu-

pitiful and ignorant meaſures, that have been taken at home, or by diſcovering the deſigns of the enemy, and preparing the minds of his fellow-citizens to liſten to ſuch ſchemes, as may beſt fruſtrate any hoſtile operations ſet on foot abroad.

THE man who checks this vigilant diſpoſition in his neighbours, this general concern for the public welfare, in times, when it is ſo much endangered, will give great ſuſpicion; let his rank and character be what they will; either that he has ſome connection, or alliance with thoſe, whoſe conduct the nation calls in queſtion, or that he is, upon his own bottom, a ſecret enemy.

THESE things conſidered, I think, neither I, nor you, have reaſon to regard the untimely inſolence of ſome people, who at this criſis affect to be monopolizers of the councils of their country, as being our firſt-rate politicians, though all Europe believes, and we, by ſad experience have found them to be none at all. I ſhall therefore, venture to ſubmit to the conſideration of my brother Freeholders, a ſcheme, which at the time I heard it, I took to be a good one; and will add the reaſons, why I have been more confirmed in my opinion ſince.

IT is briefly conceived in Dr. FREE's firſt *Antigallican* ſermon, preached before Admiral VERNON, when he was grand preſident. The author ſpeaking of the neceſſity of finding means

to

to retain our ſailors, and ſupport a powerful navy, even in the times of peace, ſubjoins a gentle reproof to what was at that ſeaſon a common prejudice — "Though, my good countrymen!" ſays he, "Let not French artifice, and "politics, working upon your own ſanguine "conceit of things, ſo far delude a *Britiſh* mind, "as to make you think that the fleet of England in all its glory, will of itſelf preſerve to "you the dominion of the ſea, or ſecure to you "peace and ſafety in your own habitations.

"(THE ballance of power abroad muſt ever "be preſerved) If the French can once perſuade "you, that you have no concern with the con"tinent, (by which they mean, that you ſhould "give it up to them) while you are parading it "upon the ocean (for ſome of our expeditions "by ſea, have not been quite ſo ſucceſsful as thoſe "conducted by our much honoured preſident) "I ſay, while you are parading it upon the "ocean, they, by an uninterrupted land-war "may ſwallow, one after another, the leſſer "provinces and kingdoms on the neighbouring "coaſt, and conſequently get into their hands "all their builders, mariners, and ſhipping; "and then, being poſſeſſed of, or having under "their direction, every port from the Italian "ſhore, up the Atlantic to the German ocean, "they would not only over-power your fleets, "by out-numbering your ſhipping, in a pro"portion which would amaze you; but alſo "ſoon give you to underſtand, that you had

"another

" another element to maintain, as well as water,
" by attempting to land, in almoſt every mari-
" time county.

" THEN, how are you to withſtand them?
" why, truly, by the ſame means that you
" might at firſt have checked them; not by a
" ſmall body of mercenary troops, which, (though
" valiant, and very uſeful to quell any popular
" tumult) can never be equal to the many calls
" and movements of a ſudden invaſion, eſpe-
" cially in ſuch wide countries as theſe his Ma-
" jeſty's Imperial dominions. No! in this caſe,
" we can never be ſo properly aſſiſted, as by an
" able, faithful, and every where extended MI-
" LITIA. Look back, I beſeech you, to the
" example and experience of your forefathers.
" Their conduct will never delude you; time,
" fame, and fortune have ſet their ſeals to their
" wiſdom.

" How was it, that our Edwards and our
" Henries conquered France? they had ſhipping
" in proportion to the French, as we have now,
" or more:—but they had men as well as ſhip-
" ping; and whence had they their men, but
" from their MILITIA? I would aſk but one
" queſtion more; how did they uſe them? Why,
" when the enemy grew turbulent, and were
" for *ſpreading* themſelves beyond their *boundary*,
" they made a deſcent upon their territory, and
" found them proper employment in their own
" country."

Now, Mr. Freeholder, I take this advice to be very good: becauſe it promiſes the entire defeat of a ſcheme, which has lately been projected in France upon the idea of our national weakneſs, and loſs of our martial ſpirit. I give it the reader in the manner in which it has appeared in the public papers.

"*Paris*, July 18.] We are told, that the "court, notwithſtanding all the defenſive pre- "parations made in Great-Britain, ſtill medi- "tates a deſcent on that iſland, well-knowing "how fatal would be the ſeat of war to that "flouriſhing nation, and how little diſpoſed its "inhabitants are to be ſpectators of it: a recent "inſtance of which we have in the laſt inva- "ſion in Scotland, when the inroads of a few "paultry vagabonds, headed by an *handful* of "his Majeſty's troops, gave the finiſhing ſtroke "to the war; being more effectual for procur- "ing the ſucceeding peace, than all our ſucceſſes "in the Netherlands; the love of eaſe and ſelf- "indulgence, the preſent characteriſtic of the "Engliſh nation, rendering them entirely in- "capable to ſupport a war, but at a diſtance. "A project is therefore on foot, to ſtrike the "enemy in the moſt ſenſible part; the num- "berleſs reſources, which we muſt draw from "abroad, and they find at home, making ſuch "conduct abſolutely neceſſary: the court con- "ceiving, that by a long diſtant war; in ſup- "port of its pretenſions, a greater ſacrifice will "be made of its ſubjects, and probably to leſs

"purpoſe,

" purpoſe, than by a ſpeedy, though bloody en-
" terprize directed home. It is ſaid alſo, that
" this expedition will attend the moſt favour-
" able opportunity, when, as the ſteps already
" taken will abſolutely require, the force of
" the enemy is divided; at which time it will
" be attempted in two diſtant parts of the
" kingdom, by which we hope to determine
" the limits of Acadia, better in the garden
" of Great-Britain than in the wilds of Ame-
" rica."

IF theſe be the advantages, which the French propoſe to reap, by making England the ſeat of war: common ſenſe muſt incline us to follow the doctor's advice, for turning theſe miſeries from our own coaſt to theirs, and being before-hand with them in an invaſion.

TO make this the more ſucceſsful, I will ſuppoſe, that Admiral Hawke ſhall immediately join the Corſicans, which will occaſion a great draught from the French forces, for another expedition in the Mediterranean. The King of Sardinia, if he ſees us ſo active, may then give thoſe which remain no little trouble on the ſide of Provence: and while theſe things are doing, to the ſouth and eaſt; and the King of Pruſſia advances from the north: ſuppoſe we make a ſmall experiment upon the weſt.

WHY ſhould not our forces, for the ſake of exerciſe, learn the method of quick debark-

ing as well as the French? and why ſhould not this be done on ſome of the iſlands very near the continent, Chauſey, for inſtance: or elſe on ſome part of the coaſt of Normandy itſelf? and as this is an ancient appendage of the crown of England, and the Normans have lately ſhewn themſelves greatly offended at the ill-behaviour of the *French* court toward their parliaments, ſuppoſe our ſoldiers were to carry in their hands ſome thouſands of his Majeſty's gracious declaration:—"That out of a paternal concern for "his ancient ſubjects of the Dutchy of Norman-"dy, he cannot tamely look on, and ſee their "privileges ſo groſly invaded by the uſurping "power of the court of France; and therefore, "he hath ſent a large detachment of his forces "to aſſiſt them, in the recovery of their loſt li-"berty, and will not only grant to them the "free ſeſſion of thoſe municipal aſſemblies, "which they call a parliament, but alſo the "meeting of their ancient ſtates, under a Duke "of their own, of whom nothing more ſhall be "demanded, but that he be an homager, and "ally of England, &c."

SUCH an attempt and declaration as this might make no ſmall ſtir amongſt the hardy Normans, which would occaſion an immediate movement in the camp of Dunkirk; and not only ſet them at a greater diſtance from the coaſt of England; but alſo, as my author expreſſes it, find them proper employment in their own country. How a project of this ſort may appear to ſome of our politicians,

politicans, I cannot tell; but as the French have ſhewn to the world, that they penetrate much farther into things than we; I ſhall give upon this occaſion their own ſentiments, which ſufficiently declare the jealouſy they have, of the uſe we may make of Normandy. A French writer had been aſked, why the children of France did not bear the title of Dukes of Normandy; and he replies, "*C'eſt parce qu'il au-*" *roit fallu faire un appanage: et cette province* "*etant celle, qui rend le plus au Roi, et le plus* "*voiſine de* L'Angleterre, *elle auroit etè une oc-*" *caſion a ſon Prince de Cauſer de troubles dans* "*le Royaume*"—*La ſcience des perſonnes de la cour*, Tom. ii. p. 18.

LEAVING my countrymen to conſider of this hint, and how ſoon it might give a turn to the affairs of France: I remain, Brother Freeholder,

Yours,

An ANTIGALLICAN.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

HAVING loſt all the great advantages with which we ſet out againſt the French, and from the moſt promiſing proſpect of affairs, been reduced both in Europe and America to the moſt deſperate ſtate, which either careleſſneſs, ignorance, treachery, or all together, could involve

volve us in; the queſtion is, *what ought to be done*, or *can be done?* are we really in a condition to ſupport ourſelves againſt the whole power of France, which hath been ſo kindly brought upon us by excluſive and inconſiſtent treaties? or are we under a neceſſity of making peace to avoid being utterly ruined by the war?

I PUT the queſtion, becauſe I perceive that the authors of all our misfortunes have already begun by ſuggeſtions in the news-papers, to ſound whether a peace would be acceptable to the public. What! have our conductors, averſe all along to war, brought it to this already? hath Minorca been loſt in order to introduce a ſtill worſe evil, peace: and force us into a meaſure advantageous to themſelves, but deſtructive to the nation? was war made only to gain peace, by ſuffering ſuch an immenſe loſs? or will thoſe, who cauſed that loſs, have the ſtill greater preſumption to propoſe peace before they have indemnified the nation for it? In ſhort, ſhall peace be made at a time, when the war ſhould be purſued more vigorouſly than ever? ſhall peace be made, and the French ſuffered to keep poſſeſſion of Port-Mahon? No: ſooner let us run all the riſques of war.

YET it muſt not be imagined, that Minorca, were it to be ceded, would ſatisfy the French. Fluſhed with their ſucceſs, in having conquered ſuch an important fortreſs; they will not be content with what they have already acquired; eſpecially,

eſpecially, as they know Great-Britain (by this loſs grown *little*) can never recover it again, unleſs they deſert its defence in the ſame ſhameful manner that our good conductors have done. No, by this acquiſition, and other ſtrange management on our ſide, they know they have gotten from us thoſe great advantages, which at firſt we had againſt them; and therefore, will not part with it, unleſs we give them ſomething in lieu thereof, which they may look on as an equivalent.

NOBODY can doubt, but the equivalent, which they would require, is the River of St. John in Nova-Scotia, on account of which they forged their two contradictory ſyſtems of ancient limits, and began the war: and as they know that the poſſeſſion of that river will be of infinitely more advantage to them than Minorca, this iſland, will at laſt, perhaps, be offered by them in exchange.

THE requiſition of a river, which runs through the midſt of another's country, has ſomething in it equally abſurd and immodeſt, as it is a demand no leſs unfit to be made than to be complied with. It is an inſidious way, concerted, perhaps, between both parties, of aſking the whole country, under the appearance of aſking only a part; ſince it is evident, that whoever is poſſeſſed of one, will be poſſeſſed of the other: but 'tis hoped the public will not be impoſed on by ſo groſs an artifice.

THE

THE French pretend, that they want this river for a communication all the year round with Canada; but, ſuppoſing we ought to diſoblige ourſelves to oblige them; yet, as they never alledged this till now, it is clear, that the demand proceeds from another motive, namely, the advancement of their long concerted plan, to ſurround our American ſettlements on this ſide, as they have already on the other ſides, by depriving us of a frontier province, which is the chief ſecurity of our northern colonies. They have in view likewiſe to get a port, or rather ports, with which this country abounds, on the Atlantic ocean, where they have none at preſent; from whence they might be able at any time to infeſt our colonies, and diſturb our commerce; particularly the fiſhing-trade, which by degrees they would get into their own hands. In ſhort, the ſurrender of St. John's River would be high treaſon againſt our colonies.

WOULD it not be another proof of m——l ability to ruin their country, if to make amends for giving up, or loſing one important place, they ſhould give up a much more important place? a ſpacious province four hundred and twenty miles long, in lieu of a ſingle fortreſs; which though of great moment to our power as well as commerce, yet being detached from the body of Great Britain, cannot prove a thorn in its ſide, as it would, if immediately connected therewith, in the ſame manner as St. John's River or Nova Scotia (for in this caſe they muſt be

conſidered as ſynonymous) is connected with New England.

After all, the ceſſion of St. John's River would procure a peace but for a ſhort ſeaſon. For the French, as ſoon as ever they had ſtrengthened their American territories, by forts properly diſpoſed with numerous garriſons, and augmented their marine to a degree capable of coping with our naval power (which would be their firſt and whole care) would begin their encroachments afreſh and without reſerve. That this would be the caſe, is evident from their conduct ever ſince the peace of Aix la Chapelle; for they ſeem determined not only to be ſuperior to us in power, but to be maſters in America, unleſs prevented by us at the preſent juncture; which is the only opportunity in all appearance we ſhall ever have again to hinder them from completing our ruin. So that ſhould we make peace with the French till we have effectually humbled them, we muſt either ſuffer them to encroach on our colonies at pleaſure, without any oppoſition, or elſe go to war again at a time when we ſhall be no more a match for them, than a mouſe is for a cat; or than they were for us at the commencement of hoſtilities. For the ſame cauſe that will oblige us now to make peace, muſt hinder us hereafter from going to war; in which caſe we muſt lie, wholly, at the mercy of France.

But where can be the neceſſity for any peace at all, much leſs a deſtructive and ignominious

peace? ſuch as that would be, by which Minorca and Nova Scotia, or either of them, ſhall be ſacrificed to our enemies. Can it with any colour be pretended that it is neceſſary, becauſe there are not ways and means for raiſing money to carry on the war; when yet there is a ready method of raiſing both men and money more than ſufficient for the purpoſe? indeed, if money muſt be raiſed in the exhauſting way now in uſe, and then ſquandered in hiring foreign troops at a moſt extravagant price; I grant that it may not be practicable to raiſe enough to carry on the war; but if a *national militia* be once eſtabliſhed (one hundred and fifty thouſand of whom may be maintained at leſs expence than ſixteen thouſand foreigners) and money raiſed without increaſing the public debt, by one general tax upon houſes, or the like, it will be no difficult matter to find money for carrying on the war, as long as neceſſary to do ourſelves juſtice.

HAVE not the people then a right to demand, and obtain this change of meaſures? Yes, ſurely, unleſs it can be proved, that it is better for them to want ſecurity and defence, than to have miniſters removed from whom they can expect neither; and to be deſtroyed by an ignominious peace, than ſaved by meaſures which will prevent their running further in debt, will keep their money in the country, and enable them to purſue hoſtilities with vigour and ſucceſs

againſt their natural, inveterate, and moſt perfidious enemies.

SURE the parliament who ſaw the utmoſt neceſſity for this war, cannot be ſuppoſed to have acted a colluſive part, by promiſing the King to carry on the ſame with vigour, at a time when they knew it was not in their power to raiſe ſupplies for the purpoſe another year? as they muſt have been utterly incapable of any ſuch diſhonourable proceeding, and fully determined to make good their engagements to the throne; ſo the nation may depend upon it, that they will raiſe money to defend the kingdom, in the manner we have mentioned, if no other methods equally advantageous can be found, rather than ſuffer ſuch an inglorious, ſuch a ruinous meaſure, as peace, to take place, till we have recovered not only Minorca, but all our rightful poſſeſſions in America; for which end the war was undertaken; which might have been done before now, if affairs had been well conducted, and which it is ſtill in our power to effect, if proper meaſures be purſued under wiſe and faithful managers. I am,

SIR, *your humble ſervant*,

Z Z.

No.

No. 59. SATURDAY, *September* 11, 1756.

Hoc volo, ſic jubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas.
JUVENAL.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE ingenious Monſ. de Monteſquieu, in his *L'Eſprit des Loix*, ſpeaking of the LIBERTY of the Engliſh nation, ſays, "It will "be loſt when the *legiſlative* ſhall become more "corrupt than the *executive power*."

THOUGH we hope this gentleman's prediction is ſtill far from its completion; yet, as Britons can never be too jealous of, nor too vigorouſly oppoſe any ſteps, that may tend towards the loſs of ſo ineſtimable a jewel, we cannot but complain, that many circumſtances do, at this juncture, bear a very unfavourable aſpect to the liberties of this land.

ARE not our heavy taxes and enormous debts, our v——l boroughs and miniſterial influence in parliament, our neglecting to regulate our militia, and our calling over an army of foreigners into this nation, omens, that forebode no good to Britiſh liberty?

HEAVY oppreſſive taxes do, indeed, as naturally tend to ſink mens ſpirits, and make them ſlaviſh, as faſting does to make them hungry;

and would not the venality of our boroughs put it as certainly into the power of miniſters to ſubvert the conſtitution by law, as the introduction of foreign troops, and the neglecting to regulate the militia, might empower the ſoldiery to rob us of our rights and liberties by force?

By calling over a foreign army, it ſhould ſeem we were afraid of an invaſion; but by our neglecting to regulate our militia, it ſhould ſeem, we had no ſuch fear. What can then be ſaid of ſuch mongrel meaſures? were we, or were we not afraid of an invaſion? if we were not: why was a foreign army brought over? if we were, why was the regulation of our militia neglected? is not the introduction of Hanoverian forces contrary to the act of ſettlement? but that hath, indeed, been ſo often broke through, that we might be juſtly taxed with folly, ſhould we lay any great ſtreſs upon it.

If the nation was in any real danger of an invaſion, would not our militia, properly diſciplined, have certainly been a ſtronger defence againſt it than any number of foreign forces? beſides, the one is according to our conſtitution; the other directly oppoſite to it: the one would ſtrengthen the hands and unite the hearts of his Majeſty's ſubjects; the other not only keeps them weak, but tends to create jealouſies and diſaffection.

There ſurely never was a time, when the people of this kingdom were in general ſo diſarmed,

armed, as at the preſent juncture: and yet, it ſhould ſeem, there never was a time, that was more likely to require the uſe of arms.

WE have been told from Hanover, that the militia there, were, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, learning the art and exerciſe of arms, as the *propereſt* and *moſt natural* defence againſt an invaſion: why ſhould not the ſame ſtep, which is thought prudent to be taken in his Majeſty's electorate, be thought prudent alſo in his Majeſty's kingdom?

GENTLEMEN can aſſociate from one end of the kingdom to the other, for the preſervation of partridges; how much more prudent, how much more honourable, how much more like Britons, would it be, would they form an aſſociation to eſtabliſh a well-diſciplined militia for the defence of their King and country!

THE calling over foreign troops to defend us, doth indeed, on the beſt conſtruction, and in the moſt favourable light we can poſſibly look upon it, reproach us with being weak, effeminate, and unmartial. Would our anceſtors, (it makes me bluſh to name them) would they who conquered at Creſſy, have ever thought of calling over foreign forces to defend themſelves againſt the French? would they have neglected to arm themſelves, and ſhamefully truſted the ſafety of the King's crown, and their own rights and liberties to foreign troops?

BUT how are Britons changed! how ſunk into ſtupidity! how loſt to all ſenſe of honour

and their country's intereſt! how ſpaniel-like muſt they be, who, enamoured with their chains, can ſurvey with delight the whiſkered army, and praiſe its beauty, manners, and regularity!

Our anceſtors, whoſe virtues are a diſgrace to us, were ſo juſtly jealous of their rights and liberties, that they would never ſo much as ſuffer any ſtanding army to be kept up in times of peace; and even we, their degenerate race, have hitherto pretended to look upon ſuch forces as an unconſtitutional body, by providing for them only from year to year.

But do not the edifices lately erected, and the barracks now building for them, too evidently ſhew, that no part of our conſtitution hath more health and ſtrength, than they, or is likely to outlive a ſtanding army.

The building of barracks for the ſoldiers, ſeems to me to be a meaſure big with miſchievous conſequences! for will not that, which makes a ſeparation of the ſoldiery from the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects in their way and manner of living, naturally beget a ſeparation of intereſts? and will not that conſequently tend to introduce a military power, independant on the civil? and will not ſuch power neceſſarily leſſen the ſecurity of thoſe rights we hold by law? the laws of this land and a large ſtanding army are, indeed, incompatible: the one or the other muſt be aboliſhed.

No

No nation, upon earth, ever did hitherto preſerve their liberties, where a large ſtanding army was allowed. Why, therefore, ſhould we ſuppoſe, that the ſame cauſe will not with us have the ſame effect, or that our freedom will not follow their fate?

How the rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom were oppreſſed by a ſtanding army in the time of the Long Parliament, appears by a book publiſhed in the year 1649, in which are the following words: "For if a word, "which is a warrant from the general, or per- "adventure no word of his, but a counterfeit, "which neither dare he deny to allow, come "into the breaſt of a ſoldier, that a lord, gentle- "man, or citizen is rich, and hath money, "preſently the party ſo (and no more) offend- "ing, is taken into cuſtody, and ſo is his eſtate, "which hath no means but the ſmallneſs of it, "to free it from delinquency: but if the ſum "be of quantity to find grace in their eyes, the "maſter may again ſleep quietly in his own "houſe, provided he ſtir not to complain, till "his dear friends come again or ſend for him, "in which ſpace, they ſkreen themſelves from "danger, and perſuade or threaten the general "to avow their theft. Thus England, which "was come to the very height of an Atlantis "or Utopica, a government excellent as could "be wiſhed, is now become an India or Ethi- "opia, or rather a Greenland, where, when "the Bears, which are the laws, are gone to

"ſleep,

" ſleep, the Foxes, which are the cunning de-
" ſtroying knaves, creep abroad."

THE army, that thus robbed and plundered the people at their pleaſure, did, at laſt, murder their King, and turn the people's repreſentatives out of doors. Such are the dreadful effects of a large ſtanding army! againſt which, and all ſteps, that may lead thereto, Britons can never guard too carefully.

AS it is the undoubted intereſt of a people to preſerve their rights and freedom; ſo it is the intereſt and true honour alſo of a King to rule over a free people. It is the true glory of a King to reign in the hearts of his people, and to enjoy their willing obedience. Is it not a diſhonourable title to be called a King of ſlaves?

IT is the weakneſs of human nature, that prompts Kings to deſire the poſſeſſion of a power of making their ſubjects miſerable. The laws allow Kings all the power they can deſire of doing good, and only reſtrain them from doing miſchief. No good King, ſuch as our preſent Sovereign, did ever deſire the power of doing his ſubjects harm. It is the frailty of fleſh and blood, that incites Kings to covet a power of doing as they pleaſe, and of governing according to their own will and pleaſure; and when they have procured ſuch power, what have they obtained more than they poſſeſſed before, but the power of rejecting reaſon, and ruling according to their paſſions.

HENCE

HENCE it is, that the more arbitrary and deſpotic Kings have been, the leſs firm and permanent alſo their crowns have been; for no mercenary army can give a King ſtrength equal to the love of his ſubjects, nor can any throne be ſo ſecure as his, who rules according to reaſon.

IF Kings would but peruſe and ſeriouſly conſider the reigns of their predeceſſors, and the reigns of all former princes, they would clearly diſcern, that thoſe, who placed their confidence on their people, and governed according to the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, were ever the moſt proſperous and happy: and that thoſe, who, either through their own miſtaken notions of government, or through the ſeducement of wicked miniſters, in order to eſcape the puniſhment due to their crimes, contended for an arbitrary power, and put their truſt in mercenary troops, were ever unhappy and inglorious.

DOTH not hiſtory afford us numberleſs inſtances of ſtanding armies ſetting aſide the legal ſucceſſion of princes in a reigning family? nay, indeed, of their placing the crown on the head of one of a different houſe? how often were the Roman, the Grecian, the Eaſtern Emperors placed and diſplaced at the pleaſure and caprice of their own mercenary troops? but when was there one inſtance of a King's being dethroned, who placed his confidence on the affection of his people, and ruled according to the laws of the land? From hence, it ſeems to me certain,

that

that the true intereſt of King and people is one and the ſame, and inſeparable; and that a large mercenary army is equally dangerous to both.

I am,

SIR,

Your humble ſervant,

BRITANNICUS.

*

ADVISEMENT.

WANTED by the middle of *November* next, a perſon, that is a perfect maſter of *packing*, *ſhuffling*, and *cutting* cards; he muſt know how to get the HONOURS into his own hand; he muſt be always ſure of an ODD TRICK, and perfectly underſtand the art of *ſaving* a KNAVE by the ſubtle and crafty *play* and *application* of his KING.

WHOEVER is *thus qualified*, may hear of very advantageous terms, by applying to Goody MAHON in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, or Madam NULL-MARRIAGE in *Great-Ormond-Street*.

No. 60. SATURDAY, *September* 12, 1756.

I'll thunder in their ears my country's cauſe,
And try to rouſe up all that's Roman *in them.*
'Tis not in mortals to command ſucceſs;
But we'll do more, Sempronius! *we'll deſerve it.*
ADDISON'S CATO.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE foil received by the Roman ſtate: the danger, to which its liberty was expoſed, by the defeat in the *Pharſalian* fields, produced very different effects in the commonwealth. For, Rome was not untainted. Venality and corruption found a place in her ſenate and councils: and a Sempronius and a Syphax were not deterred, by the univerſal diſguſt of the people, from conſpiring the ruin of her conſtitution, under the name of providing for the public ſafety. Yet there appeared a Cato and a Portius in the cauſe of freedom. The former called the ſenate together immediately, to conſult what meaſures could be purſued by them to oppoſe the mighty torrent, that bore down Rome, and all her gods before it: the latter, while the fathers of the ſenate met in cloſe debate to weigh the events of war, animated

the people's drooping courage with the love of freedom and contempt of life.

THE *conſpirators dreaded an enquiry* into their proceedings, and the reſentment of the people. Their ſucceſs and ſafety depended on a majority of corrupt ſenators and a ſtanding army: and, therefore, it was determined, if poſſible, to prolong the meeting of the ſenate, till it could be modelled to their liking; and to diſcourage and ſuppreſs, as far as in their power, the complaints of the people, and their requeſt to be put in a condition to protect themſelves, the ſenate, and their country, againſt an army raiſed by Cæſar in diſtant nations, under the ſpecious pretence of covering the provinces from foreign invaſions, and by him made uſe of to overthrow the Roman liberty, and to inveſt himſelf with arbitrary power.

WAS it not time for every one, that retained the leaſt ſenſe of their own country's good, to call up all that was Roman in them? When Rome was daily afflicted with the news of ſome advantage, gained by the enemy; of ſome province cut off from her dominion; of the danger, to which all her colonies were expoſed by the weakneſs or corruption of thoſe, who had the management of her public affairs; was it poſſible for the lovers of their country to remain unconcerned?

WHEN the ſubjects were diſarmed, and were thus prepared an eaſy prey for the army of Cæſar, whom they had raiſed to the higheſt dignity

dignity in the ſtate, and entruſted with their liberty; was not he the beſt patriot, that endeavoured to inſpire his fellow citizens with the love of freedom, and to convince them that ſelf-defence is not to be placed in a mercenary or hireling army, which is ſo eaſily turned againſt the people that pay them; but in their own arms and courage, regularly formed and diſciplined?

When it was apparent there was a party in the government, determined at all events to defend the moſt ruinous meaſures, and to ſkreen the authors of their misfortunes, was it not time for Cato to exert his eloquence, and deliver his integrity from all imputations of either want of courage, honeſty, or wiſdom?

Let us, *ſays he*, draw her term of freedom out
In its full length, and ſpin it to the laſt,
So ſhall we gain ſtill one day's liberty:
And let me periſh; but in Cato's judgment
A day, an hour of virtuous liberty
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage.

When guilt broke through every dark veil of miniſterial artifice, exerted to obſtruct juſtice upon the delinquents, to impoſe upon Cato, to deceive the people, to ſmother their complaints, and to form a party in the ſenate, numerous enough to eſpouſe and ſanctify all their proceedings, and to inveſt them with further power to impoveriſh and enſlave the nation; Cato, to prevent their practice upon the ſenators, on the firſt

firſt advice of a defeat, called them together, and tells them;

——'Tis time we ſhould decree
What courſe to take. Our foe advances on us,
And envies us, even Lybia's ſultry deſarts.
Fathers, pronounce your thoughts; are they ſtill fix'd
To hold it out, and fight it to the laſt?
Or are our hearts ſubdu'd at length, and wrought,
By time and ill ſucceſs, to a ſubmiſſion?

IT is true, this virtuous reſolution was not crowned with ſucceſs: that is not in mortals to command: but though Cæſar's mercenary army over-powered the agonizing liberty of Rome, they who appeared in her cauſe, *deſerved ſucceſs*, and have convinced poſterity of the unavoidable ruin, which attends a people, who ſuffer themſelves to be ſubdued by craft and fraud, and ſubmit tamely to the misfortunes brought upon them by weak or wicked miniſters. They have convinced us, that the natural ſtrength of a nation, a virtuous ſenate, and a ſound miniſtry, are the *only effectual* protection againſt the conſpiracy of traitors at home, and the operations of foreign enemies.

THEY, who part with the power to diſpoſe of their property, and permit their repreſentatives to trifle away their liberties, have always been enſlaved. There is ſomething ſo bewitching in arbitrary power, that few can reſiſt the temptation, when the people unadviſedly ſuffer the

the executive to influence or over-awe the legiſlative power. Britain is almoſt the only inſtance of a limited monarchy, whoſe liberty has not expired; of a people, who have more than once

Bid Cæſar diſband his legions,
Reſtore the commonwealth to liberty,
Submit his actions to the public cenſure;
And ſtand the judgment of a free ſenate.

THOUGH we may not have the ſame cauſe as our fore-fathers, to dread the encroachments of a Cæſar, our late misfortunes and preſent diſtreſſes; the difficulty of obtaining juſtice againſt the authors and inſtruments of our loſſes and their bad meaſures: the ſecret encroachment of the m——l faction, by their deceiving the King, miſapplication of the public tr——e, diſarming the people, and introducing a foreign army, are enough to rouſe up our Britiſh courage, and to warrant thoſe *inſtructions* and *addreſſes*, which have already appeared, with ſo much loyalty to our Sovereign, and regard for our country.

IF there ſhould be ſtill found any part of the Britiſh conſtitution ſo weak, ſo ſupine, ſo impaired in its ſenſes by the intoxicating philtres of m——l quacks, as to omit this neceſſary part of their duty, which they owe to their King and country; I'll, like Portius, *thunder in their ears their country's cauſe, and try to rouze up all that's* Britiſh *in them.*

THE ſilence and inactivity of a free people, when their ALL is at ſtake, may be compared to an apoplexy and mortification in the human body; which are certain ſymptoms of a depraved and ruined conſtitution. Tyranny and arbitrary power carry too dreadful an aſpect to be uſhered in at once: they are the offspring of thoſe deluſive meaſures, by which the people are broken into factions, ſeduced to ſell their votes, and deterred by a military force from laying the grounds of their complaints and fearful apprehenſions before their Sovereign; and from directing their repreſentatives, to conſult for the ſafety and proſperity of the nation, and for the honour and dignity of the Britiſh crown; to enquire into the loſſes and miſmanagements; to bring delinquents to puniſhment; to provide againſt the miſapplications of the public money, the miſconduct in our naval affairs, the importation of foreign forces, and for the eſtabliſhment of a well regulated militia.

COULD the people of England have been perſuaded to remain ſilent, Woolſey and Cromwell had brought all the riches of the nation into the Royal Exchequer; and thereby rendered King Henry VIII. abſolute: Buckingham and Strafford had enabled Charles I. to raiſe money, and to rule without a parliament: Arlington and Clifford under Charles II. and the jeſuitical council of King James II. had overthrown our conſtitution in church and ſtate by the aid of a ſtanding army. In theſe diſtreſſes the groans of

our agonizing liberties rouzed the national ſpirit of reſentment againſt bad miniſters, and preſerved the commonwealth from injury and reproach. And had thoſe worthy patriots, who obliged their King to diſband his forces, and to ſend back to Holland his very body guards; who ventured their lives and fortunes in oppoſition to the miniſterial arbitrarineſs in the reign of King Charles I. and who invited over King William III. to oblige the reigning prince to diſavow the iniquitous meaſures of his miniſtry, and to ſtand to the judgment of a free parliament; lived to ſee a miniſtry not only oppoſing a militia, but taking every method to diſcourage and to deter Britons from the uſe of arms; to exhauſt their riches, and to endanger their liberties by a ſtanding army of mercenaries and foreigners: had they advanced in one year eight millions of pounds ſterling, and ſeen that enormous ſum entruſted to the management of the King's ſervants for the ſecurity of our American ſettlements, the protection of our trade, and of the iſlands; the internal defence of the nation, and to diſtreſs the enemy, miſapplied or conſumed in a ſtate of inactivity: or, had they diſcovered a ſyſtem of government, which muſt have been ſupported by a military force, or a parliament, whoſe freedom yielded to venality and corruption; it is eaſily conjectured what would have been the fate of ſuch miniſters: none of them could be ſo high as to eſcape the

ſhould Britain either by miſconduct, ignorance, or treachery fall a prey to France, or be obliged to pay a blind ſubmiſſion to the dictates and meaſures of an arbitrary m——r.

ADDRESS his Majeſty! inſtruct your members! if your repreſentatives diſlike your proceedings, chuſe them no more; and preſent your addreſs by one of your own body to the King himſelf: he will receive your duty with a paternal regard. It is to him we owe the remains of freedom. And if we do not exert ourſelves at this juncture, who ſhall be able to ſtand againſt the enemy without, and the purſuit of meaſures, which have brought us to the brink of deſtruction; deprived us of our allies, and left us almoſt without money and without credit. Take the advice of Cato:

Let us riſe, my friends, and ſtrive to fill
This little interval, this pauſe of life,
(While yet our liberty and fate are doubtful)
With reſolution, friendſhip, untainted bravery,
And all the virtues we can croud into it;
That Heaven may ſay, our King, Liberties, and Laws,
And happy conſtitution ought to be prolong'd.

O.

No. 61. SATURDAY, *September* 25, 1756.

Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui,
Familiares; ſed omnes omnium caritates
Patria unà complexa eſt. CIC.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE love of our country is a virtue ſo ſtrongly enforced by nature, that ſeveral have dared to ſacrifice their lives for it: none have been ſo hardened, as to acknowledge their contempt of it: and the moſt earneſt ſeekers of their country's ruin, have always covered their pernicious ſchemes with pretences for its welfare.

THIS love, according to Cicero's definition, is to harbour no mixture of private intereſt or affection. It muſt not grow hot and cold according to the degree of advantage we particularly reap from ſervice or conduct. Though our companions, our relations, or even our children and parents, ſhould be expoſed to the reſentment of bad miniſters, and deprived of their places or penſions, for our ſteadineſs and integrity in the cauſe of freedom, we muſt not hearken to their ſolicitations, in prejudice to our national conſtitution. For, as in a moral

or religious ſenſe, *the wages of ſin is death*; there can be no gratuity given to leſſen or cool the love of one's country, which does not carry deſtruction in its very acceptance.

If this be an indiſpenſible duty on every individual of the ſociety, to which he owes the ſecurity of life, liberty and property; how eminent ought it to ſhine forth in the conduct and actions of thoſe, who aſpire to the chief ſeat and authority of juriſdiction over their fellow-citizens? How watchful ought the citizens and members of every body corporate to be, that no perſon, let his abilities, riches, and connections be what they will, ſurprize or perſuade them to gratify his ambition, and admit him into an office or ſtation, which might put it in his power to compleat their ruin; who has on any occaſion diſcovered an *inclination* for men and meaſures, from whom their country has every thing to dread againſt its liberty?

Could any one be ſuppoſed ſo inſenſible of its country's danger, or ſo careleſs of its welfare, as to neglect the means of prevention, when they are pointed out to him by his fellow-citizens; could he join in meaſures, which nature and reaſon inform him to be hurtful to his country; or, ſhould he be found ſo ſhamefully proſtitute to the intrigues of a miniſtry, whoſe power is incompatible with the public ſafety, and whoſe abilities exert themſelves in arts to deceive their maſter, and in violence to reſtrain the complaints of their fellow-ſubjects, as not only to

concur

concur with unconſtitutional ſchemes, but to inſiſt upon a right ſo to do; he ſhould be far from being the object of their regard; he ſhould never hope to prevail in his ſolicitations for power and truſt with a people, who had found him ſo wicked, or weak, to yield to an influence contrary to the honour and real intereſt of his country. He muſt for ever after be held in contempt, let his former conduct recommend him never ſo ſtrongly to his fellow-citizens. That mortal is not to be inveſted with authority, who can be drawn by any means to make uſe of the truſt repoſed in him, to the diſhonour or injury of his conſtituents.

——— *Totus componitur orbis*
Regis ad exemplum.

THE higher any man is advanced in dignity and power, the more dangerous will be his paſſions, ſhould they incline to evil meaſures. Their actions are like a two-edged ſword: they mow down with power, what they cannot take off by example. If learning, ſound faith and morals are required in a candidate for eccleſiaſtical preferment: and an impeachment of his orthodoxy was ſufficient to ſet Dr. *Rundel* aſide from an Engliſh biſhoprick; it would be arraigning the wiſdom and juſtice of the nation to ſuppoſe any one qualified for an office or ſeat, either in the legiſlative or executive part of our conſtitution, whoſe integrity or capacity ſhould be ſuſpected, or his ambition ſhould compel him

him to graſp at power for the ſake of private emolument.

SHOULD our country be ever ſo unfortunate to have a parliament over-ruled by placemen and penſioners; or uſurped by men, who by their ſeats in the grand council of the nation, endeavour to ſupport an intereſt, ſeparate from the truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents; would not the electors be wanting to their own and country's good, if they ever more choſe a repreſentative, who was willing to hire himſelf to do the drudgery of a miniſter, or whoſe pride will not let him ſubmit to the inſtructions of his conſtituents, or whoſe heart is prone to follow the dictates of ſuch ſycophants, who lie in wait to deſtroy the freedom of parliaments? Should any ſuch perſon ſeek after other offices of honour and truſt, ſuch as mayor, provoſt, &c. of a city, or town corporate, whereby he might have it in his power to obſtruct juſtice, to favour the enemies of his country, and to give up the liberties of his corporation; would it not be very unwiſe, or rather real madneſs to place him in the chair of their ſupreme magiſtrate?

IN ſuch caſes, we ſhould do well to conſult the practice and example of the citizens of London. For, that opulent and wiſe people have not been exempt from the ſolicitation of deſigning men. The high office of Lord-Mayor has been often ſolicited by ſuch as were rejected for their miſconduct and attachment to

meaſures

meaſures hurtful to their fellow-ſubjects: and, as according to the divines, the moſt virtuous are moſt ſtrongly tempted by the devil; it is no leſs true in politics, that the higher any place is, and the more our country's liberty depends upon the integrity of the officer, the more arts are made uſe of by the ſappers of our conſtitution to puſh their own creatures into it. If it was not for the proſtitution of mayors, ſheriffs, and juſtices, it would be impoſſible for a wicked miniſter to ſmother the complaints of an injured people, to ſuppreſs addreſſes to the throne, to manage elections, and to curb the juſt reſentments of the nation.

THEREFORE, when it has happened that an alderman of the city of London, has, by adhering to meaſures, tending to the loſs of their particular or national liberty, forfeited that good opinion of his fellow-citizens, which obtained for him the *firſt ſtep* of power in their corporation; they immediately, without favour or affection, have always prevented his advancement to *more* power in their election.

HOW reſpected, how amiable was Sir George Champion to his fellow-citizens! how powerfully did he carry, almoſt by his own intereſt, the election of a chamberlain, againſt the utmoſt efforts of the court! yet, as ſoon as his brain was intoxicated with a ſeat in parliament, ſo as to liſten to the deluſive ſchemes of a corrupt miniſter, he became the object of their indignation. He joined with the miniſterial pro-

ject

ject for a *convention*; whereby the cruelties and horrid devaſtations made by the Spaniards upon our American trade and ſeamen were to be cancelled, and Great Britain left expoſed to their future barbarities and inſults; for which he was irrevocably and perpetually ſet aſide from the honourable and powerful office of Lord-Mayor of this great metropolis.

No doubt but that gentleman would gladly have reconciled himſelf, by inſiſting upon his right to vote, *as he pleaſed*, in parliament: but, to wave an enquiry into the juſtneſs of ſuch a claim by one, who is no more than the repreſentative of his conſtituents, and entruſted by them *only as guardian* of, and not to ſport away their liberty and property; the citizens of London are not ſo ignorant as not to perceive how material it is to their metropolis, for the defence of its rights and privileges, for the preſervation of its peace and tranquillity, and for the ſupport of its reputation and dignity, that no perſon whatever ſhould be inveſted with the ſupreme magiſtracy, who has rendered himſelf diſgraceful to the majority of its citizens, by deviating from thoſe principles, which have ever intitled them to the love of their fellow-ſubjects.

Nor is this the only example: whenever a general alarm has induced the honeſt and ſincere individuals of every party to throw aſide their former reſerved behaviour, and to join council, and to act in concert for their common ſecurity; they have always united to prevent

vent the diſhonour and danger, which might fall upon their city, and the diſcouragement they would give to the whole kingdom, ſhould they ſuffer themſelves to be deluded into the election of a ſupreme magiſtrate, who had forfeited the love of his country by his miſconduct in a truſt already repoſed in him. For, his diſgrace would have been equally as certain, had he voted for a *general exciſe*; or for the *naturalization* of the *Jews*; or for the unconſtitutional and hazardous meaſure of introducing a *foreign army*. Whatever tends to the deſtruction of the whole, is deſtructive of every part. The liberty of England cannot be in danger, and the liberties of London remain untouched. And the ſenator that gives his voice for a meaſure, which ſhould expoſe the diſarmed people of Britain to the mercy of a *foreign mercenary army*, can never be a true lover of his country, nor expect to ſucceed in his ſolicitation for the ſupreme magiſtracy, any more than if he had voted for the *convention*. To advance the welfare of ſociety muſt be the natural purſuit of every upright and diſintereſted man; therefore, ſo far as any citizen's actions declare him to have ſwerved from that purſuit; his integrity and ſincerity become ſuſpected, he declines in the eſteem of that ſociety, and is diſregarded by the lovers of their country.

THESE are obſervations founded upon experience. Nor can there be a more ſeaſonable opportunity for the MONITOR to exhibit them

to

to public view, than, at a time, when they have their eyes upon the elections of magiſtrates in the principal corporations of the kingdom. Then is the hour of trial how far m——l influence prevails over the love of our country: whether private intereſt, or perſonal connections have gained the aſcendant over public good, and national ſafety; or whether party zeal will ſanctify the moſt ruinous meaſures. By theſe tokens we may form a rational judgment of our freedom; and of thoſe, who have the honeſty and courage to appear in its ſupport. Should there be choſen a ſupreme magiſtrate, who with his vote has complimented the advocates for a numerous ſubſidiary army to be kept in idleneſs at the immenſe expence of Great Britain, and for a more expenſive and dangerous embarkation of foreign troops into this iſland; who, with arms in their hands, preſume to obſtruct the civil magiſtrate in the execution of his duty, and to inſiſt upon an exemption from the laws of this land, even in caſes of ſhoplifting, murder, and of all crimes whatſoever; and who aſſume the authority to forbid our peace-officers to take cognizance of the murders, felonies, &c. committed by them; might not the ſame influence engage him to lodge thoſe foreigners in the heart of the corporation, and with them to deprive us both of our health and liberty? Can he be ſuppoſed a friend to a militia, who appears inſenſible of the miſeries brought upon a nation by immenſe debts

and

and grievous taxes contracted and raiſed for the maintenance of mercenary and foreign armies? Will not they, if there can be any ſo void of natural affection for their country, as to appear in favour of ſuch a candidate, forfeit the amiable character of a true Briton and a good citizen; who give the upright and diſintereſted part of the corporation great reaſon to ſuſpect them of preferring ſome private advantage, or favourite paſſion to the real intereſt of their country? Or that things are brought to ſuch a criſis, that neither the misfortunes we have ſuffered, nor the grievances we complain of, nor the dangers that threaten us, are able to unite a free-born people in the purſuit of ſuch legal and prudential meaſures, as ſtill remain in their power to preſerve their independency?

You ſee then; it becomes our fellow-citizens to be very circumſpect in their choice of a chief magiſtrate. It is their particular intereſt, in regard to their own rights and privileges; it is their duty to chuſe an unexceptionable gentleman; ſo far as it ſets an example to the reſt of the kingdom. And whenever this is the caſe, they ought to proceed with unanimity and decency. Union is neceſſary for their preſervation: and decency will convince all mankind, that their reſentment is not grounded on party zeal; that it is not the effect of inconſiderate paſſion; nor yet a perſonal diſlike to any perſon: but that it is his public conduct alone, which has brought them to a reſolution to ſet him aſide.

THIS

THIS has been the conſtant practice of the Londoners: however ſplit into diviſions: however differing in ſentiment about other matters; they have always had wiſdom to unite againſt the ſappers of our conſtitution. And there is no reaſon to fear they will ever remit any part of that manly perſevering zeal, which has overcome all oppoſition; or ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized into an election, which would convict them of ſupineneſs, levity, and diſunion; and of doing a thing, which would diſhonour the city, and diſcourage the whole kingdom, whoſe conduct is generally framed on the example of its metropolis.

Z.

No. 62. SATURDAY, *October* 2, 1756.

Optimus quiſque poſteritati ſervit.

CICERO.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT is uſual in common life, when we would diſſuade a perſon from an action, which appears unbecoming, to deſire him, to conſider, *what the world will think of it?* This advice has frequently proved very ſalutary: the ambition of ſtanding well in the opinion of mankind,

kind, being one of the greateſt incentives to virtuous actions, and the principal reſtraint upon the irregular inclinations of the vicious. In this view, ſpeaking of ourſelves as a nation, perhaps it would not be improper to aſk, *What will poſterity think of us?* — I have lately amuſed myſelf with a peruſal of the Preſident Hainault's chronological abridgment of the hiſtory of France; a work digeſted with the greateſt accuracy, and fraught with the moſt profound erudition: and as probably ſome future hiſtorian, of a very remote age, may undertake an account of modern times, upon the ſame plan, I am inclined to think that the following ſhort ſpecimen of ſuch a work, may afford ſome entertainment to your readers. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

HISTORICUS.

---

*Remarkable events in the r—n of *** the ****.*

"IN that r—n, the method of ruling by b—y "and c——n was reduced to a ſyſtem. The "m——r, who acquired the appellation of the "GRAND CORRUPTOR, ſettled it upon ſo ſolid "a baſis, that the art of managing E——s, "which under former adminiſtrations required "great dexterity and addreſs, became a common "track; inſomuch, that dulneſs and ignorance,

" aided by the t——y, could effect the purpoſes " of g—v—rn—t full as well, if not better than " genius and eruditon. Accordingly we read " but of two or three men of diſtinguiſhed parts, " who were admitted into any ſhare of that " ad——n, from the acceſſion of the above- " mentioned m——r; and they, it appears, " were very little conſulted, while in office, " and ſoon reſigned their employments.

" In that reign likewiſe, an attempt was " made, by ſome people of the northern part " of the kingdom, to reinſtate the excluded " family of the S——t's upon the throne; " which gave thoſe in power an opportunity of " turning the apprehenſions of the vulgar to " their own advantage, by artfully inſinuating, " that all thoſe, who oppoſed their unconſtitu- " tional meaſures, were in their hearts traitors: " and by theſe means, they played ſo effectually " upon the ſimplicity and credulity of the " people, that a ſtupifying lethargy diffuſed " itſelf all over the nation for ſome years; " which was not ſhaken off, till an act paſſed, " granting to Jews the privileges of Engliſhmen. " *From hence, one would be induced to think, that* " *Chriſtianity was not as yet aboliſhed by law, as* " *ſome authors contend, from the publication of* " *Lord* Bolingbroke's *poſthumous works, and other* " *deiſtical tracts.*

" About the year 17** the univerſity of " O——d falling under the diſpleaſure of the " c——t, a ſwarm of hirelings were employed to

" traduce that illuſtrious body, in pamphlets " and news-papers. The principal of theſe " tools was a wretch, whoſe name is not come " down to us; but, we have a certain account, " that he, for his inf—m—s ſervices, was pro- " moted to a ſeat among the dignified fathers " of the c——h.

" In the year 17** antiquaries fix the æra, " when the election of m—b—s to ſerve in " p——t, was converted into a nomination by " the p—e m——r. But, notwithſtanding the " opinion of very learned men, (to whoſe au- " thority I pay the greateſt deference) who " ground their conjecture upon the determina- " tion of the Oxf—ſh—e election, I am inclined " to think, that the right of voting continued " in the freeholders for ſome years longer; but " for how many is matter of very great uncer- " tainty; nor indeed do the records now re- " maining enable us to pronounce, at what " time this privilege was abſolutely taken away.

" Much about this time a diſagreement aroſe " between G—tB——n and F——e, concerning " encroachments on the continent of Am——a; " and the E—ſh thinking themſelves aggrieved, " took ſeveral ſhips laden with fiſh, which ap- " peared to them ſo conſiderable an atchieve- " ment, that they became preſumptuous, to the " laſt degree; talked of dictating to F——e " what number of men of war ſhe ſhould have; " threatened deſtruction to her ports, and a total " extinction of her trade. How far the Engliſh

" acted upon the principles of ſound policy and " purſued theſe meaſures, is evident from their " permitting the fiſh to rot in the ſhips, and " keeping their own navy at home, while the " French ſailed without interruption to ſupport " her encroachments in America; deſtroyed " her trade, and conquered the moſt important " harbour and fortreſs of Mahon.

" In 17**, the French playing their uſual " game of marching a few battalions to the ſea- " coaſt, all E——d was thrown into the greateſt " conſternation; both h—s of p——t entreat the " K—g to bring over a ſufficient force of H——s " to protect the nation; to which his Majeſty " graciouſly aſſents: *It is obſervable, that a few* " *years before, the nation expreſſed the moſt virus-* " *lent enmity againſt thoſe people; ſpoke of them* " *in their public debates, with an unprecedented* " *indignation, and did not even refrain from* " *diſreſpectful ſarcaſms upon the S——n himſelf.*

" A bill paſſed the h—e of c——s for diſ- " ciplining the militia throughout the kingdom. " It was thrown out of the h—e of l—ds. " It is impoſſible to aſſign the reaſon of this ſtep, " as at ſo great a diſtance of time, we muſt ne- " ceſſarily be ignorant of the policy, by which " our fore-fathers were influenced; but we may " take upon us to ſay, that certainly the S——n " could have no objection to truſt the ſecurity " of his perſon and crown to a people, *whoſe* " *frank hand*, to uſe the expreſſion of a very " old dramatic writer, *gave all.*

" In

"In the month of May an account arrives, "that the French had made a deſcent in the "iſland of Minorca with a very formidable "army. The g——nt appears greatly aſtoniſh-"ed, though all Europe knew the deſtination "of the armament long before the fleet put to "ſea. The Engliſh lay wagers about the event "of the ſiege.—Premium riſes one day;—falls "the next.—A fleet is ſent out.—An account "comes from France, that the E——h fleet "is defeated:—no true Engliſhman believes it "—England muſt prevail in every thing.—A "letter comes at laſt from the Engliſh admiral, "which though introduced with *pleaſure* carried "plain tokens that we were worſted. The "ſpirit of the people, and the ſtocks fall; the "news-writers change their ſtile. We read no "more of the *perfidious French*, and *the moſt "Chriſtian Brute*. They alarm the nation now "with the danger of becoming a province to "the enemy, and ſuggeſt, that nothing but a "miracle can ſave them. *Several of theſe papers "are to be found ſtill in the collection of the curi-"ous.*—However the E——h conſole them-"ſelves for the defeat in the ſea-engagement, "by making ſongs upon admiral Byng, and "getting drunk at the burning of his effigy.

"An account comes, that the caſtle of St. "Philip is taken, notwithſtanding the noble de-"fence of the commander. The people begin "to droop;—ſhake their heads, and ſhrug their "ſhoulders. *All is over*, is the general cry.

"ADDRESSES come from all parts of the "kingdom, relating to the late miſcarriages. "The whole nation is inflamed. People talk "inceſſantly about the diſtreſſes of the kingdom; "inſiſt upon a militia bill, as the only means "of ſalvation; drink healths—and all ends in "NOTHING.

"THE national debt increaſed, about this "period, to above eighty millions, notwith- "ſtanding the proprietors of the funds had "conſented, ſome few years before, to a re- "duction of a fourth part of their intereſt. "All commodities appear to have been ſo hea- "vily taxed, that foreigners underſold us at moſt "markets in Europe. And as every expedient "ſeemed to have been exhauſted, and the moſt "fertile heads could not invent a new impoſt, "it will not appear extraordinary to thoſe, who "are converſant in the finances of this and other "countries, that a ſp—ge ſhould become ne- "ceſſary in a few years.

"TOWARDS the middle of the ſame year "17—, a new kind of amuſement, called en- "campments, was introduced, which engroſſed "the attention of the whole nation.

"THE ſpirit of gaming prevailed ſo univer- "ſally in this year, that all houſes throughout "the city of London and Weſtminſter were at "ſtated times, turned into gambling-ſhops, where "the whole town had acceſs, at one ſhilling *per* "head; which capitation-tax amounted to an "inconceivable ſum of money, and was applied,

"as

" as the beſt hiſtorians inform us, to the main-
" tenance of ſeveral hundred young fellows,
" who undertook to provide the implements of
" play, at their own expence. *This was cer-*
" *tainly a good inſtitution: for, undoubtedly thoſe*
" *people were younger brothers of good families,*
" *who, not being bred to any particular profeſſion,*
" *found it eaſy, by this means, to get a genteel*
" *livelihood* [in ſervice.]

" IT was now common for n-bl-m-n of the
" firſt diſtinction, to aſſociate and enter into
" ſtrict connections, with notorious ſharpers,
" nay, even to walk with them, arm in arm in
" public places. Many inſtances of this kind,
" the ſcandalous chronicles of thoſe times have
" recorded.

" THE attachment to play having entirely
" extinguiſhed the ſpirit of gallantry in the male
" part of the ſpecies, it became neceſſary for the
" women, to make advances to the men. Ac-
" cordingly they appeared with undaunted con-
" fidence, at the theatres, public gardens, *&c.*
" and entirely ſhook off the natural reſerve and
" modeſty, which diſtinguiſhed their ſex, in
" more early ages.

" NOTWITHSTANDING the almoſt univerſal
" degeneracy, one illuſtrious inſtance of diſin-
" tereſtedneſs and genius adorned thoſe times.
" A gentleman who repreſented the borough of
" Aldborough, Yorkſhire, of ſmall paternal
" eſtate, raiſed himſelf, by his amazing abilities,
" to one of the greateſt employments in the gift

" of the c—wn; which he held, for ſeveral " years, with uncommon honour and integrity; " but diſdaining to comply with meaſures, in- " jurious to his country, he with a noble ſpirit " of generoſity reſigned his place, and devoted " his talents to the ſervice of his fellow-ſubjects. " Hiſtorians of all parties agree, in repreſenting " this gentleman as equal in point of eloquence, " to the Athenian or Roman orator. But ſurely " they exaggerate in their accounts, or that " nobleſt of all arts muſt have loſt its power; " for I do not find that the m——y of thoſe " times, over-powered by the thunder of his " elocution, ſacrificed any pernicious ſcheme " they were intent upon; nor is there a ſingle " inſtance recorded of the venal ſ—n—r drop- " ping the bribe, and becoming involuntarily " honeſt.

" About the middle of the ſame century it " was made penal for any one to eat a partridge " or a hare, who could not prove himſelf worth " one hundred pounds *per annum*, or could not " procure a licence from a qualified perſon. *The* " *reaſon of this we are quite unacquainted with,* " *but the fact is unqueſtionable, and was ſeverely* " *felt by the farmers in particular, whoſe crops* " *were by an act of p——t expoſed to the numerous* " *encreaſe of the game.*

" Near the ſame period, a perſon was tried " in the c—t of K—g's-b—h, for defrauding " the public of about thirty thouſand pounds, " and notwithſtanding the proſecution was

" carried

" carried on, at the requeſt of the h—ſe of " c——s, and the culprit was found guilty of " the accuſation, he was adjudged to pay only " a fine of ONE THOUSAND POUNDS. *It is not " poſſible, that we ſhould be qualified to explain " the conſiſtency of ſuch a proceeding; being ſo " much in the dark, with reſpect to the particular " circumſtances, upon which this affair turned; " but according to the notions of modern times a " mulct of only* A THIRTIETH *part of the ſum " unjuſtly acquired, ſo far from anſwering the " purpoſes of deterring future offences, would " ſeem to give encouragement to fraudulent prac- " tices,* by ſhewing *the plunderer of the public, " that in the very act, which conſtitutes his crime, " he poſſeſſed himſelf of the means of buying out " the puniſhment.*

" IN the ſame c—t the L—d C. J. ſoon after " atoned for this notorious lenity, by a ſevere " extention of the penal laws upon the printer " of a ridiculous letter; from which enſued no " conſiderable or certain damage to the public; " for this he was ſentenced to pay an *exceſſive " fine,* to ſtand in the pillory, to remain in " priſon for two years, and to find ſecurity for " his good behaviour. Had not death deprived " the law of ſuch an extraordinary genius, ſome " future cauſe might have given him an op- " portunity to reconcile the paradox of the two " caſes, in contempt of the antiquated privileges " of Magna Charta.

" THE

"THE latter end of the year 17— was "remarkable for lotteries. As this kind of "gaming is but little underſtood now, it may "be neceſſary to explain what was the nature "of a lottery. Whenever the m——y wanted "a ſum of money (a *million*, for example) they "made an exact calculation of the number of "fools in the kingdom; and if they found that "it amounted to one hundred thouſand, a pro-"poſal was publiſhed, that every perſon, who "was willing to pay ten pounds, ſhould have "the fifty thouſandth chance of ten thouſand "pounds. This temptation prevailed ſo effec-"tually, that men, women, and children, "crowded from all parts of the kingdom, to "entitle them to Fortune's favour; and certain "agents, called brokers, taking advantage of "this eagerneſs, engroſſed the chances to them-"ſelves at the original coſt, and afterwards diſ-"poſed of them to the children of folly upon "their own terms. *This appears very ſtrange "to us, but ſuch was the infatuation of the times!*

Prodigies in that r—n.

"TWO ſhocks of an earthquake were felt, "and a third predicted by a life-guard man, "which ſpread ſo univerſal an alarm, that the "cuſtom of *going to church* on the *ſeventh day*, "which had been exploded for many years, "was revived, for *about* three weeks.

"A COURT of juſtice ſat by adjournment "above a week, in order to examine, whether

"an

" an *old woman* could be in two places at once, " or a *young one* could live without ſuſtenance " eight and twenty days, and be afterwards able " to walk eleven miles. It appears by ſeveral " pamphlets, publiſhed at this time, that theſe " paradoxes were firmly held by a great part of " the kingdom; from whence the judicious " reader will make this obſervation; that *infi-* " *delity and credulity are no ways incompatible.*

" A JEW created an eſtate of three hundred " thouſand pounds from nothing, by telling *lies* " in a place called in thoſe days, Change Alley.

Learned men who flouriſhed in that r—n.

" GENIUS was ſo much encouraged in " that r—n, that we read of the r—l " bounty being extended to a *threſher*, who had " found out the art of bringing two words of " ſimilar ſound together.

" THE *poet laureat*, at this time appears to " have been a man of profound learning, but " his place, we apprehend, was intended as a " ſine-cure, for he had nothing to do, only to " tell the world annually, that the firſt of Ja- " nuary is the beginning of the new year, and " the thirtieth of October the birth-day of **** " the ****."

H.

No. 63. SATURDAY, *October* 9, 1756.

There came forth a ſpirit *and ſtood before the* LORD, *and ſaid, I will perſuade him. And the* LORD *ſaid unto him, Wherewith? And he ſaid I will go forth, and I will be a* lying ſpirit *in the mouth of* all his prophets.

1 KINGS, chap. xxii. ver. 21, 22.

To the FREEHOLDER.

SIR,

BECAUSE I am converſant with the hiſtory of Iſrael, do not imagine your correſpondent is of that claſs of men, who, a few years ago would have tolerated Judaiſm, and expoſed both the mercantile and landed intereſt to the treachery and ambition of a people rejected by Heaven for their hatred to Chriſt, and deſpiſed by all nations for their little regard to thoſe principles of ſociety, which ſecure perſonal property.

A PEOPLE, who forfeited their intereſt with the Almighty by ſhutting their ears againſt good advice, and by encouraging and following lying divinations. The commonalty were moſt pleaſed with thoſe prophets, who ſoothed their wicked conſciences with falſhoods. The preachers ſacrificed the cauſe of God to the paſſions of the laity.

laity. The leaders of the people cauſed them to err, and the ears of Majeſty were corrupted by their propheſying a falſe viſion and divination, a thing of nought and the deceit of their heart; that the King himſelf could not bear to hearken to the words of him that ſpake truth, when it impeached his adminiſtration of bad meaſures, and adviſed him to purſue better and more ſalutary councils.

A NATION under ſuch circumſtances, where the Prince's favour is to be ſolicited by a lye; where a concealment of bad conduct and a proſtitution of truth, are the chief engines of preferment and means to maintain a poſt about the throne: where the leaders or guardians of the people are capable of influencing the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and principal inhabitants of a city to join in a miſrepreſentation of facts, and to juſtify proceedings inconſiſtent with their liberty and ſafety, and ruinous to their peace, honour, riches, and ſtrength: and where every artifice is made uſe of by men in high ſtations to diſcourage and ſuppreſs the addreſſes of thoſe, who mourn over the misfortunes, to which their country is reduced, and point out the only effectual means of preſerving its conſtitution in church and ſtate; would do well to conſider the terrible example and puniſhment recorded in the hiſtory of Ahab, brought upon both King and people by a *lying ſpirit*, which by flattery, miſrepreſentations, and concealment of the truth hurried him on to deſtruction.

ſtructing the channels of truth. How was his brother and ſucceſſor ruined by the ſame means; by *Addreſſes* forged by the minions of the court, or by thoſe, who were ſure to work his moſt certain ruin, by concealing the diſcontent of the people, and adviſing him to deſtructive meaſures? There never was a time when the nation, by the management of her *lying prophets*, addreſſed the King with greater approbation of his adminiſtration, or ſtronger aſſurances of ſupport againſt all oppoſition: yet this was to him a ſnare; he delighted in falſhood, and ſudden deſtruction came upon him.

WHAT then, may we conjecture, can be the intention of a late *Addreſs*, preſented, and perhaps dictated by one, who was originally an *Iriſh Papiſt*, deeply learned in the doctrine of equivocation and mental reſervation, and has given the *lye* to his firſt eſſays in a certain houſe by a ſervile connection with thoſe, who ſtudy to maintain their power, by miſguiding their maſter and corrupting the people; which at a time that every faithful ſubject, every ſincere Proteſtant, and every honeſt heart is afflicted for the loſs of Minorca, groan under exceſſive taxes, bewail the little care taken to prevent that loſs, or to ſecure our poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, and our trade and navigation upon the ocean and narrow ſeas; and in the moſt dutiful manner petition for an enquiry into the cauſes of theſe misfortunes and neglect, and for the puniſhment of thoſe, to whoſe conduct or

direction

direction they have been owing; and moſt reſpectfully repreſent their diſlike of, and inability to ſupport the preſent unconſtitutional method of defending this nation by a mercenary and foreign army, and their deſire to be intruſted with the defence of their King and country, as the only natural and conſtitutional means to preſerve peace at home, and to guard us from a foreign enemy; is calculated like the words of the *lying* prophets, to miſlead the King, to diſcredit and to render them ſuſpected, who ſpeak the truth, and perſuade him to approve of and to purſue meaſures which muſt diſguſt and enervate the ſubject, and expoſe his royal perſon and country to a perfidious and powerful enemy.

DOES it not plainly appear that there is too much of the *Jeſuit* in that clauſe, where it is pretended the ADDRESSERS *greatly lament* the diſgrace of our fleet ſent to Minorca: which is not worded, as it might have been done by a lord of the treaſury, to enable his Majeſty to detect all the ſecret ſprings of that dark and unfortunate ſcene; but artfully to cover the weakneſs or c—r—p—n of his aſſociates in power, by throwing the whole miſcarriage on the cowardice or miſconduct of one ſuperior officer? was it not miſmanagement to leave the Mediterranean without a fleet ſufficient to cover Mahon, to protect our trade, and to curb the hoſtile intentions of our enemies? was it prudent to keep the principal officers to ſerve the

miniſtry in parliament, who ought to have been at the head of their regiments in the garriſon of Mahon? can they be acquitted of negligence or miſconduct, who fully informed of the operations and ſtrength of the enemy, and in poſſeſſion of the fineſt fleet that ever plowed the ocean, neither ſent a timely nor ſufficient force, to fruſtrate their attack on the moſt important harbour in the Mediterranean? I cannot then imagine, that it can be the ſenſe of the gentry, clergy, merchants, and principal inhabitants of the city of Briſtol, that Admiral Byng is more culpable than the ſuperior managers for the public ſafety at home. But I am clear, that whoever dictated that clauſe of the addreſs is adviſing the Sovereign and the ſubject to confine their enquiry and reſentment to the admiral only.

THERE can be no doubt of his Majeſty's readineſs in rewarding merit: but is not there reaſon to doubt whether it be in his power: do not his miniſters and great officers in their ſeveral departments engroſs all places for their own creatures? and are not many men of real merit, for the want of court intereſt, obliged to remain in obſcurity and are loſt to their country, while their country is in danger of being loſt in the hands of thoſe, who have neither honeſty nor courage?

IS it poſſible, that *gentlemen*, who have no dependance nor expectations on a miniſtry, whoſe virtue and wiſdom is ſuſpected: that

clergy-

clergymen, who are not gaping after preferment and would not purchaſe it with the price of truth: that *merchants* who adventure any property at ſea; and that the *principal inhabitants* of any city, who feel the effects of a ruinous war in the weight of their taxes, *&c.* could be prevailed upon to join in an addreſs to extol the *great care* and the *prudent meaſures of* a m———y, which all the reſt of the nation complain of and condemn?

Is it not a notorious perverting of truth to tell his Majeſty, that our trade *is protected, and ſupported, whilſt captures are daily making of the enemy*; when nothing is more certain, than that the enemy, has taken at leaſt three of our merchantmen to one taken from them, by his Majeſty's ſhips, ſince the declaration of war? but gentlemen, who enjoy places, in the cuſtoms, exciſe or other offices, and thoſe, whoſe trade and particular occupations ſubject them to the commands of men in power, are ſeldom permitted to examine into the truth of what they are called upon to countenance with their names. A misfortune, which in former ages grew to ſuch a pitch in Scotland, that the ſtates of that kingdom paſſed an act under the title, *leeſing*, whereby it was made treaſon to endeavour by lying ſpeeches or addreſſes to deceive the King. Had this ſalutary law been naturalized by the Union, it might have been a bridle or a hook in the noſe of every *python*, who, poſſeſſed by a *lying ſpirit*, would perſuade his Majeſty to

neglect his American ſubjects, by telling him that thoſe colonies and ſettlements have had ſuch aſſiſtance ſent them as will ſecure to us our juſt right and poſſeſſions; when it is notoriouſly known, that the French have been permitted to augment their ſtrength; and that we have had neither force nor commanding officer capable of making head againſt the enemy, either by land or ſea, in thoſe parts, for more than a year.

HAVE not the Freeholders, that ſend repreſentatives to parliament to adviſe the King in matters of difficulty, and to preſerve the ſubject in his juſt rights and liberties; a right to expreſs their diſlike of meaſures, which tend to their impoveriſhment, and to the loſs of their liberties? does not the conſtitution of this realm abhor a ſtanding army? is not a foreign force placed over a diſarmed people, a dangerous expedient? is not a militia the moſt natural, and capable of being made the moſt effectual ſtrength and internal defence of theſe kingdoms? might it not be a certain means of reducing our taxes? is not the public ſafety and utility the principal object of a good Prince? does not the neceſſity of the ſubject require every method for relief and defence? how then can it be thought a *preſumption*, except in the ſervile creatures of a m——y, to inform his Majeſty of their fears and deſires; or to lay before him ſuch meaſures as they apprehend will be requiſite to be purſued, for the defence and ſe-

curity of his royal perſon, family, and government.

But before we leave this ſubject, Mr. Freeholder! let me aſk you, if it be conſiſtent with the liberties and privileges of a free people to deny the national right of ſelf-defence, and to oblige them to encumber themſelves and their poſterity with a heavy debt to pay a foreign army? can it be the intereſt of a nation, which has its principal dependance on *trade*, *commerce*, and *manufactures*, to engage in meaſures, which embroil us on the continent, where we have no property; expoſe our commerce to a piratical war, and cramp our manufactures both for want of men and money to carry them on, and with ſuch impoſitions and inſurances, as to ſell for loſs in foreign markets? is it the way to render his Majeſty's government *reſpectable*, by ſetting up an intereſt in oppoſition to his ſubjects? or, is it poſſible that a reign can be *happy* and *glorious*, where the Prince is in danger of being ill adviſed by counſellors poſſeſſed with a *lying ſpirit*.

However the noble appearance of the Freeholders, and of the moſt faithful of his Majeſty's ſubjects in all parts of the kingdom on this melancholy occaſion, and their unanimous repreſentation of the truth in their addreſſes to their Sovereign, or inſtructions to their members, may ſerve as an exorciſm againſt every ſpirit of falſhood which may beſet the throne. And ſhould their moſt cordial addreſſes

be defeated in the way to the royal preſence, by the influence of m—ſt—l intereſt, which I hope is not the caſe in the county of Surry, whoſe addreſs has already been obliged to perform a quarantine of forty days; or ſhould they be afterwards artfully diſcredited by the intrigues of the m——y, it muſt create greater ſuſpicions of m——l tardineſs, and convince us of the danger in chuſing, for the future, either the candidate, who is capable of perſuading his conſtituents to counteract the juſt complaints and remonſtrances of the nation; or him, who evades the requeſt to preſent their addreſs to his Majeſty.

O.

No. 64. SATURDAY, *October* 16, 1756.

Parvi ſunt foris arma, niſi ſit conſilium domi.

CIC.

THE following pieces exhibit ſome characters in life, too viſible, I fear, in the conduct of many in high ſtations; and may in ſome meaſure account for that degeneracy in morals, which prepared Rome and Greece, and may equally diſpoſe every other nation to receive the ſlaviſh yoke of a government, founded on the weakneſs and corruption of the people.

Is it not a dreadful proſpect to view our country covered with vice and immorality, ignorance and venality; and thoſe climates, which were lately over-run with barbarity and ſuperſtition, and received protection and laws from Britain, now cultivated by art and induſtry, and by virtue and ſound policy in a capacity to diſpute the dominion of the ſea, the *agio* of trade, and the ſuperiority of ſound and polite education, with the ſovereign of the ocean, the ſtaple of commerce, and the nurſery of arts and ſciences.

SHALL not the attention, paid by the boors of Denmark and Norway to the dictates of virtue, and to the means of enriching their nation by new manufactures at home, and foreign commerce, excite an emulation, at leaſt, not to be outſtripped either in fair dealing or in the quality of our goods? do not the means by which the Ruſſians are extending their influence over all Europe teach us, that the people who would acquire or maintain any degree of credit or intereſt, muſt encourage literature, and deſtroy the temptations to venality; cannot the ſucceſs, which ever crowns the efforts of the Pruſſian councils, and the happy effects of the impartial execution of the Pruſſian laws to promote trade, and to root out vice and immorality, create a deteſtation of that modern ſyſtem of Britiſh education, which tramples upon our laws, and expoſes us to the contempt and inſults of our enemies? or, if there is left no ſpark of

ambition unextinguiſhed by corruption; ſometimes terror has been able to rouze a nation from its lethargic ſtate. Is it not a moſt dangerous ſight to be ſhewn a nation, whoſe legiſlators are the eccho of a miniſtry; whoſe miniſters have acquired their power by craft, and govern by the inſtitutions, and according to the notions, inſtilled into them at horſe-races, cock-pits, and gaming-tables? and is engaged in a war with a people, who never advance any one to a place of truſt in the ſtate, not even their moſt inferior officers; but ſuch as have paſſed through a regular courſe of inſtruction, training them up for the ſervice of their country, and inſpiring them with a deteſtation of all diverſions or avocations, which diſturb the channels of wiſdom, ſagacity, and activity, with the mud and ſettlings of vicious or fooliſh inclinations; and diſpoſe them to betray their country?

YET this is the caſe, if the following intelligence can be credited. In which the public have ſo great a concern, that the MONITOR muſt have done violence to the juſtice due to the author, and to his own judgment, had he delayed its publication.

HOWEVER, our correſpondents are to obſerve, that great inconvenience attends the publication of *detached* pieces, which is the reaſon that many of them are poſtponed, when otherwiſe they might have appeared in an advantageous light, had they been finiſhed for a *complete* paper.

To

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

AS you have undertaken to conſider many of the calamities, under which we labour, I cannot help reminding you of *one* ſource of them, which, though by no means the only or perhaps immediate cauſe, yet by neceſſary conſequence is a degree, inſtrumental to them all. I mean the celebrated rendezvous of nobility and gentry at *Newmarket*. If the encouraging and ſupporting ſchools and ſeminaries of vice and immorality be pernicious to a nation; what fatal conſequences may not be expected from this place, the nurſery of idleneſs and vice in all its ſhapes?

THE mean and ungenerous tricks and artifices, uſed upon the *turf*, conſtitute but a ſmall part of this ſcene of iniquity. Whoever would have a full idea of the whole proceedings, let him viſit the *cockpit* or the *hazard-table*; here he will be a witneſs to the moſt horrid oaths, profaneneſs, and blaſphemy, that it is poſſible for the tongue to utter; or heart, fraught with the moſt impious ſentiments, to conceive.

HERE he will view a ſcene more dreadful than any poetical deſcription of hell could ever repreſent. Behold in one place a wretch fixed in ſilent thoughtfulneſs, and pondering with himſelf whether he ſhall hazard his laſt ſtake to retrieve his loſſes! another ſtript of all he had,

frantick

frantick with rage and ſorrow, calling down the moſt horrid imprecations upon himſelf, as the curſed cauſe of beggary and wretchedneſs to an innocent family, and to himſelf the occaſion of remorſe, deſpair, and anguiſh, his conſtant attendants to his lateſt breath! but,

THIS, ſuch as it is, is the grand reſort of many to whoſe care, upon account of their *high ſtation*, the public concerns are intruſted; of thoſe, who are to lead our armies, and aſſiſt and direct our councils. And what is ſtill worſe! this is the place where our YOUTH, who, in the courſe of a few years, are to grace and dignify our ſenate and preſide at the helm of ſtate, receive their early inſtitutions, and with the preparatory aſſiſtance of the ſalutary notions here imbibed, launch further out into the ſchool of the world.—To form a plan of oratory from Cicero or Demoſthenes, to ſtudy the hiſtory, laws, policy, and conſtitution of their country, might have been proper employments for the youth of former ages; but, for the preſent times, this one queſtion, WHAT IS THE ODDS? is ſo well ſtudied, as if this alone would better enable thoſe of the higheſt birth and rank to cut a more illuſtrious figure, than the ſtricteſt attention to the dull inſtructions, which orators or hiſtorians have delivered down to us.

I HAVE hitherto touched only upon the vicious part of the proceedings at this place. The tranſition from VICE to FOLLY is extremely natural and eaſy: and there has been a late occur-

occurrence here to be ranked under this head, ſo very notorious that I cannot forbear the mention of it. It is well known, that the cuſtom of *laying bets* has increaſed of late to a conſiderable degree: and the wiſe-heads, aſſembled here, have been a good deal troubled to invent proper ſubjects for this purpoſe. At length, behold ſome happy genius has juſt ſtruck out a ſcheme of a very ſingular nature. It is propoſed that *five* TURKEYS on one ſide, and as many GEESE on the other, ſhall be driven from NORWICH towards LONDON at the ſame time, and a very conſiderable ſum of money is depending upon which of the ſides ſhall drive *three* out of the five to LONDON *firſt*. How rare and ſagacious a contrivance! how happy would it be for England if ſuch talents were diverted into a more uſeful channel! what ſcheme of politicks of our enemies ſo deep or intricate but ſuch a genius could penetrate into and unravel! what deſign againſt them could be formed, but with the aſſiſtance of ſuch a counſellor would be planned with prudence, and executed with ſucceſs!

LABOURING, therefore, under theſe unhappy circumſtances of vice, ignorance, and folly, what can we expect from our arms and councils? where ſhall we look for integrity and prudence, reſolution and fortitude to conduct our meaſures? could our anceſtors, who ſignalized themſelves at the tilts and tournaments of old; ſee their martial exerciſes, their trials of ſkill and valour converted

converted into a conteſt between GEESE and TURKEYS, how would they grieve at the degeneracy of their poſterity! and one would think in the preſent poſture of affairs, any one that had it in his power to contribute in the leaſt degree to the welfare of his country, might find weightier concerns to engage his attention, at a time when our enemies, notwithſtanding all our armaments and boaſted ſtrength, triumph over us with repeated ſucceſs in all their enterprizes, and convince us, to our ſorrow, of the truth of Tully's maxim, expreſſed in the motto, that *they cannot hope for ſucceſs in the field, whoſe council at home is either corrupt or defective.*

I am,

SIR,

Your very humble ſervant,

PHILETHES.

An epiſtle to a friend on the education of his SON.

HOW to bring up your ſon, dear *Charles*, you doubt,
Why then, I'll with my counſel help you out.
If he's a *fool*, and like a numſkull chuſes
To conſort with thoſe wheedling jades, the *Muſes*,
Diſcard him:—throw him off: let not your chink
Journey to *Halicon* to buy him drink.
Let not his head be turn'd with idle ſtories,
Of *Oroondates*, and ſuch *Jack-a-Nories*;
Should he once read them, in a little time
Egad! the Boy'll attempt to *ſcrawl in rhime.*

Which

Which to prevent, let him not learn to write,
Or read; for if he does he may have wit:
Let him not write ſo much as his own name;
He'll ſet his mark, and that's e'en juſt the ſame.

But when he's of the age of one and twenty,
(Till then theſe few inſtructions may content ye)
Buy him a borough, and he'll ſoon be great,
A poſt,—I mean,—*a pillar* of the ſtate:
He'll make a figure to the h—e when brought,
A figure, like ſome hundreds more of *nought*.
He muſt not ſpeak in his poor country's cauſe,
Muſt not defend her liberties and laws:
But with ſubmiſſive cringe and ſupple knee
Muſt always bellow for the miniſtry.
Theſe maxims, ſure, will bring him into vogue;
He needs muſt pleaſe who is *both fool and rogue*.

Wouldst have him marry? well, buy him, d'ye ſee,
A fierce cock'd hat and modiſh ramilie:
Buy him (be ſure omit not that) a ſword,
And regimental coat;—he's then *my Lord*.

Make him an eunuch, if he ſings, and then
He'll be fit company for n—blem—n.
A voice ſoft ſhrilling and an empty pate
Can never fail of getting an eſtate.
Or if (it may be ſo) the youngſter feels
The greatneſs of his ſpirit in his heels;
Make him a dancing-maſter: now a-days
Your dancing-maſters thrive and wive apace.
Or, if he's of a ſtupid diſpoſition,
Get him a *wig*, and make him a phyſician:
Teach him to *hum* and *ha*;—and ſoon he'll find
How eaſily the doctor *hums* mankind,

No.

No. 65. SATURDAY, *October* 23, 1756.

It is not good to accept the perſon of the wicked to overthrow the righteous in judgment.

PROV. chap. xviii. ver. 5.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE claim which the Engliſh make to the dominion of the ſeas in preference to all other powers, is founded upon the ſuperior ſtrength of their navy.

THE ſtrength of their navy is to be computed not only by the number and rates of the ſhipping, their weight of metal and complement of men; but by the ſkill, diligence and integrity of thoſe, who are entruſted with its direction at home, and of thoſe on whoſe conduct and bravery depend the honour and intereſt of the nation abroad.

IF a Lord High Admiral, or they commiſſioned to act in that capacity have two hundred and fifty ſhips of war at their command, and want judgment to diſpoſe of them in the moſt advantageous manner for the ſecurity of our trade and annoying our enemy, it is poſſible a fleet of a much inferior force may interrupt our navigation and commerce, intercept our convoys and conquer

conquer our unguarded forts and colonies; or, if they pay more regard to private intereſt or ſuperior recommendation in their contracts for ſtores and proviſions, and to the appointment of captains, commodores, admirals, and commanders in chief, than to the quality of the neceſſaries and merit of the officers, there can be nothing expected from an expedition where the men are reduced by unwholeſome food, where the ordnance is defective, where ſtores are ſo ſhort as to oblige them to flee into a port for repairs on every trifling occaſion, as the loſs of a top-maſt: and where the ſucceſs depends upon men, whoſe bravery has never been tried, and whoſe conduct may be influenced by fear of being cut off from the enjoyment of a large eſtate by an unlucky ball in the defence of their country, or with a deſire to make a fortune by a ſervile compliance with miniſterial ſchemes to ruin the nation; or what is worſe, by ignominiouſly betraying their truſt for a bribe.

If there is no care taken to gain intelligence of the enemy's ſtrength and motions; nor that expedition made in the equipping ſuch a fleet as ſhall be able to counter-act their operations, when it is known their reſolution is to carry fire and ſword into our poſſeſſions, or to intercept our ſhips: what would it avail the keeping a numerous and expenſive fleet in our ports? It would only ſerve to weaken ourſelves by conſuming our treaſure.

If there ſhould be no harmony between the commanding officers; if ambition, or ſome unſeaſonable animoſity; if ſervility or treachery ſhould fruſtrate the ſervice of our country and the expectations of the public, which might be reaſonably attached to the force put into their hands, and to their ſtation; neither our numbers nor any other ſuperiority of men or metal could give us the victory.

THUS we are to account for all our misfortunes in the navy: as might be eaſily exemplified even in thoſe reigns from whence were expected wiſer and more vigorous proceedings. And from hence it will be eaſy to diſcern how the delinquents have been able to eſcape the puniſhments due to their miſmanagement and miſdemeanors. If the parliament enables the miniſtry to corrupt a majority among the ſenators, and the managers and officers of the navy are only their creatures, the nation may cry out for juſtice againſt the ignorant, inactive and treacherous authors of their grief and misfortunes: but when have they been puniſhed according to their deſerts?

THE revolution had ſcarce placed King William on the throne, before England had cauſe to complain of the negligence of the admiralty: Admiral Herbert, for want of a ſufficient complement of men, and diſappointed of an additional force, promiſed him to be cruizing off Scilly, was obliged to permit the French to eſcape on the coaſt of Ireland, where they had juſt landed five thouſand men. WHAT

WHAT could be more criminal than to poiſon the brave ſeamen with corrupt and unwholeſome victuals; and yet, though great miſchiefs, occaſioned by thoſe proviſions, were fully diſcovered before the parliament; the miniſtry palliated their own iniquitous meaſures, under the ſimple diſmiſſion of Lord Torrington from the board of admiralty.

THE victory gained by the French over the ſame Lord ſoon after at Bantry Bay, was entirely owing to the intrigues of the Earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate, who on this occaſion riſked the loſs of his country, by ordering that Lord on a ſervice with a force unequal to the enemy, to find an opportunity to remove him from the preſence, eſteem, and confidence of his Prince; and in order to divert the attention of the people from the miniſtry, who were the real and only cauſe of this misfortune, he ſpirited up the Dutch, who ſuffered greatly in this battle, to caſt the whole blame of this loſs and diſhonour on Lord Torrington. But notwithſtanding the moſt powerful intereſt of the miniſtry and of the King himſelf, this Admiral was honourably acquitted by a court-martial; and the nation lulled into indifference concerning an enquiry into the real cauſe of their diſquietudes and misfortunes. Except we may look upon the King's breaking forty-two officers in the navy, who appeared to juſtify the Earl's conduct and courage, and his diſcharging ſeveral of the members of the court-martial from his

ſervice, be any token of miniſterial innocence! and an adequate ſacrifice to the reſentment of his ſubjects! However, this is certain, the Earl, who had nothing either to fear or hope from the court, was able to prove before impartial judges, that he had done all that could be expected from one in his circumſtances; and that the misfortune, which he had met with at ſea, was entirely owing to the unſkilfulneſs, negligence, or intrigues of thoſe at the helm of ſtate.

The ſame charge was laid againſt the miniſtry by that eminent and brave commander Admiral Ruſſel; but, though by his birth he was inferior to none in the adminiſtration, and his complaints were ſeconded by loud exclamations of the Dutch, who did not ſcruple to ſay, That the King's councils were betrayed to the French court, he drew upon himſelf the reſentment of the ſecretary of ſtate and of the admiralty, who, ſupported by their colleagues in the miniſtry, and depending upon a majority in parliament, reſolved to ſkreen themſelves from the imputation of waſting the national treaſure in chimerical projects, by endeavouring to impeach the conduct, courage, and fidelity of Mr. Ruſſel: yet, though they prevailed upon the King himſelf to open his parliament with a ſpeech, that ecchoed their private reſolutions, the Admiral by his *letters*, *papers*, and *inſtructions* vindicated his conduct, and fixed the miſcarriage of his expedition ſo firmly on the delays

caſioned by the ſecretary of ſtate, in ſo full and ſatisfactory a manner, that notwithſtanding all the arts of the miniſter, and his engaging the King in his intereſt, the commons reſolved, That the admiral had behaved himſelf with fidelity, courage, and conduct; and yet when the houſe divided upon a motion to addreſs his Majeſty to conſtitute a board of admiralty, compoſed of ſuch perſons as were of known experience in maritime affairs, the miniſtry had influence enough to carry it in the negative.

Thus the people, whoſe pockets were drained by the moſt grievous and burthenſome taxes to be ſquandered away by ignorant or remiſs managers, were once more drawn from the purſuit of the real object of their misfortunes, and hummed into a miſapplication of their reſentment, till their wrath was conſumed alſo upon the guiltleſs inſtrument of mal-adminiſtration, which, having by this means tried their ſtrength in parliament, grew more laviſh than ever of the public treaſure, and ſo careleſs of the common ſafety, that they put the command of the fleet into ſuch hands, that Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was believed *the King was putting his fleet into the hands of ſuch as would betray him.*

But ſuch was the influence of the miniſtry, that notwithſtanding theſe conjectures were backed by the loſs of the Smyrna fleet, which greatly affected the mercantile part of the nation, and was aſcribed to the treachery of the admirals; they ſkreened themſelves before the

parliament, by alledging that they had punctually obeyed their ORDERS: and though the houſe came to a reſolution that their ORDERS were *weakly* drawn, *ambiguous* and *defective*, and the queſtion was put "That the admirals "were guilty of a high breach of the truſt, that "was repoſed in them, to the great loſs and "diſhonour of the nation;" it was carried in the negative, under the miniſterial pretence, that *though the miſcarriage was notorious, they knew not where to fix the* particular *blame*. Such will be always the fate of the nation in ſeeking after juſtice upon thoſe, who have betrayed their truſt, when their crimes include a miniſtry able to bribe a majority in parliament with the public money!

NOT even that happy reign of Queen Anne, ſo often brought forth, for examples of courage, fidelity, and good oeconomy, was clear of imputations of this kind. Her Majeſty's love for her people was frequently conſtrained to give place to the ſolicitations of her conſort Prince George, the Lord High Admiral, to ſkreen him from the accuſation of ignorance or remiſſneſs. For when the Lords addreſſed her Majeſty, after they had found, on a ſtrict enquiry, that the navy was very weak in men, that the proviſions were intollerably bad, that the ſhips were not kept clean, nor ſufficiently ſupplied with neceſſary ſtores and ammunition, nor ſtationed in a capacity to protect the foreign trade; and, in particular, that Vice Admiral Graydon might

be removed from all places of truſt in the government, and that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to order her attorney general to proſecute him at law for ſuch abuſes of his power on the iſland of Jamaica, as gave great diſcouragement to the inhabitants thereof, and was prejudicial to her Majeſty's ſervice, and for not attacking and ſuffering a French ſquadron to eſcape in prejudice to the Queen's ſervice, and to the great diſhonour of the nation, under a pretence of his INSTRUCTIONS; they who were the cauſe of theſe complaints, having poſſeſſion of the Queen's perſon, ſo wrought upon her good-nature with falſe repreſentations againſt thoſe, who appeared in the cauſe of their country, that ſhe was perſuaded to receive this addreſs as a mere invention to reflect upon the Lord High Admiral or his council. By which means the delinquents in the admiralty ſheltered themſelves under the wing of Majeſty; the admiral eſcaped under his inſtructions, and the nation was left without remedy to mourn their loſs and diſhonour.

WHAT then could their poſterity expect, when a Queen with a *heart entirely Engliſh*, as I have read on ſome of her medals, was liable to be deceived into an unbelief of the reality of her ſubjects complaints, and to ſkreen the managers and officers of the navy, when the nation was diſhonoured and endangered by their ignorance, negligence, or treachery? Why is it to be wondered that the miniſtry ſuſpected of

trafficking with the enemy, and conſuming the national treaſure by a fleet in the Weſt Indies, under Admiral Hoſier, without inſtructions to annoy the enemy; or in the Mediterranean under Haddock without orders to fight, could find a ſanctuary againſt the reſentment of an injured people? what are not men capable of adviſing and conſtraining the Sovereign to ſanctify under his ſacred aſylum, who threatened to leave him without money, and in diſtreſs of council, at a time his dominions were invaded, except he would reſign himſelf entirely to their direction?

HAD that miniſtry prolonged their power to theſe days of trouble and ſorrow; when almoſt every mail brings advice of ſome new loſs thro' the ignorance, neglect or treachery of thoſe entruſted with our marine affairs; what remedy, what juſtice, could be expected againſt them, who left Minorca naked, ſent an inconſiderable ſquadron to its relief; and left the iſlands and north coaſt of America unguarded, while three fourths of our navy laid uſeleſs in our ports? they would have ſneered at the affecting addreſſes to the King, the nervous inſtructions of the people to their repreſentatives, and laughed at the general diſcontent of the populace: and I am of opinion they would have thought it no bad policy to miſguide their attention to a weak inſtrument of their misfortunes, by making ſongs on the commander in chief, and hiring them to burn the man in effigy, who is ready

to

to throw himſelf upon his country, and to prove that he is not the ONLY perſon anſwerable to the public for the loſs of Mahon.

BUT can it be feared that a m——y conſiſting of a l— ch——r, who has from very narrow circumſtances built up a large family by his practice, would let any confuſed and contradictory orders be ſent on ſuch an occaſion? could a lord of the admiralty, who had the advantage of other captains to make a *fortune* by taking a Manilla ſhip, ſufficient to recommend him to the daughter of ſuch a l— ch——r, be ſuſpected of want of *capacity* to ſit at the head of the admiralty; or want of leiſure from his *diverſions* to conſider the ſtrength of our navy, and to ſtation it properly, for counter-acting the vaſt and ſecret ſchemes of the French? Shall it be ſaid that a d—e, who cut ſuch a figure for his bravery at the head of the whig mob in 1716, and has maintained his poſt in the gov———t upwards of thirty years by acting and counter-acting, by his ſkill in applying the public money, and the little care he has taken of his own fortune, would ever conſent to meaſures, which brought upon us our preſent calamities? Is it poſſible there can be any ſuſpicion of a ſtateſman who makes proviſion for the very wives of thoſe, who are complaiſant enough to give way for men of more ability than themſelves, in conſideration of large penſions out of the public ſtock, which in the courſe of nature

muſt be paid to ſome of them at leaſt twenty years *after* they are dead?

THEREFORE as it is our happineſs, that we have neither the genius of a Nottingham, who could make his maſter believe the groſſeſt abſurdities, and ſupport the worſt of meaſures, in order to cover the delinquents in the admiralty; nor the intereſt of a prince conſort, who prevailed with the Queen to protect him againſt the reſentment of the nation: as our navy was never more numerous for ſhips, nor ſtronger in metal and men, there can be no doubt, but our moſt gracious Sovereign will acquieſce in the appeal of his loyal ſubjects for an enquiry into the cauſe of that weakneſs, complained of by the commander in chief ſent to the relief of Mahon: and not permit any m——l artifice either to find ſhelter under his ſacred name, or to ſacrifice any inſignificant tool or innocent agent of their weak, ambiguous, or defective orders. An act of juſtice, which not Britons only, but all the world expects from the fatal effects the late miſconduct has brought upon this nation, and from that wiſdom and juſtice by which our Sovereign has diſtinguiſhed his crown on other occaſions. For ſhould all this flame of diſhonour and diſquietude die away; ſhould it be poſſible the people of England could be pacified without a fair and ſtrict enquiry into the meaſures, whereby the vaſt ſums, raiſed for the ſervice of the current year, have been conſumed, and our great loſſes have been occaſioned;

ſioned; I am of opinion that our navy would be far from commanding that reſpect as it has done heretofore; and that other petty ſtates beſides Leghorn and Genoa will have the inſolence to join with our enemy, in order to ruin our foreign trade.

P.

No. 66. SATURDAY, *October* 30, 1756.

Our naval thunders, and our tented fields,
With ſpreaded banners, fanning foreign climes;
—— What do they?
All, all, is impotence, but acting right.

YOUNG.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT will be well if Britain's misfortunes, affecting as they are, do but ſtop with the fatal loſs and omiſſions of the paſt unhappy ſummer; for I fear the rational diſſatisfaction ſpread throughout theſe kingdoms, will produce ſuch political combats, as may reſtrain our plans of conqueſt, and greatly enfeeble the operations of war.

IF in times, when the m—n—y were quite unembarraſſed, when every voice was exalted to ſuſtain

ſuſtain their efforts, and every nerve was ſtrung in uniſon againſt the foe, we have experienced ſuch unexampled negligence and diſgrace, what in future periods are we to expect, but, that the very ſmall attention they have hitherto paid to hoſtile affairs, will be farther impaired, by ſelf intereſt, cabal, and p——y intrigue.

NATURALISTS, ſpeak of a plant, produced in the ſouthern regions, ſo noxious in its quality, that the ſmalleſt verdure, cannot grow under its baleful influence.

THE inimical nature of ſome men, ſeems, almoſt to realiſe in this country, the baneful property of this vegetable; not one thing proſpers within the ſphere of their action, and miſchief, and miſery, are the effects of their pernicious conduct.

To weed this ſoil from the choaking tares of ſtate; to promote the ends of uſeful culture, and procure a new ſcene of meaſures; be henceforth the virtuous taſk of every liberal mind. The head that can inform, the tongue which can perſuade, and the heart that can inforce, are now emphatically called upon to aid the glorious work. Accuſations, alas! in plenty ſurround us, for every act but recognizes ſome fatal truth.

LET us hope to find, among our ſenators, cordial duty, and affection to his Majeſty; ſome at leaſt who in the late language of Pruſſia's Monarch *, will urge and urge again; " that

* See the King of Pruſſia's motives for preventing the deſigns of the court of Vienna.

" the

" the blood, the treaſures, and the intereſt of " this country, have been ſacrificed to the ſup- " port of a foreign and ungrateful cauſe;" ſome, who will acquaint our amiable and honeſt King with the wholeſome and animated advice of the French parliament to their miſguided Sovereign. " How happy (ſay they) would Princes and " nations be, if truth alone had only the pri- " vilege to approach the throne! perſons league " together to deceive their Monarch. They " ſhew him things in the light which ſuits their " own views.

" THE Prince immured from the world, diſ- " cerns not himſelf the truth; he only knows " what they relate. Employments are given " men unworthy his preſence, and others diſ- " miſſed whom he ought to retain. In ſpite of " innate integrity, in ſpite of all his precautions, " the beſt of Princes is betrayed! he becomes " the ſport and the victim of men, who conceal " or adulterate truth! your parliament, Sire, owe " you this valuable truth, ſo rare, ſo much a " ſtranger in palaces, and they preſent it without " fear. How criminal would not your parlia- " ment be, if at this conjuncture they diſguiſed " it! perhaps it never was more neceſſary to tell " it without reſerve. This is the object of the " moſt humble and moſt reſpectful remonſtrance, " we have the honour to bring at the foot of " your throne."

LEARN then of thoſe, whom inteſtine op- preſſion has been long aiming to ſubdue; be- come

come ye on this occaſion, the pupils of your enemy! "For truth ceaſes not to be true in the "mouth of a foe." Breathe out your privileges and expectations, nor be like Phocion's orator, luxuriant only in leaves and branches; but bring forth fruit. Exert your powers, and ſhake to pieces every baſe aſſociation, not formed upon the principles of Britiſh intereſt.

WHAT, if indeed the laſting intereſt of Britain, the judgment of its conſtituents, may ſometimes vary in determining. The fluctuating ſtate of human affairs, the fallibility of our nature, and the ordinary counter-action of chance and deſign, are circumſtances, which ſerve but to debaſe our characters, and foil our enquiries in the purſuit of certainty. Hence the allowances made to rulers and ſtateſmen, for miſtakes, diſappointments, and abortive ſchemes. Nor, to ſpeak in terms of moderation, can it reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the ſort of negative conduct obſerved by the preſent ad——n, in reſpect to buſineſs, is the reſult of evil deſign, but of coldneſs of heart, and imbecility of head.

FOR men to intend their own deſtruction is unnatural; they indeed with their friends and dependants, move gradatim, with the means which lead to general ruin; and deliberate treachery to ourſelves or country, are, I would hope, among the charges oftener talked of than exemplified: though, like the occult quality of the ancients, it is always at hand, as a ſolution

for

for every political miſcarriage, or national miſfortune.

BUT whilſt they ſtand excuſed from this cenſure, what elſe can account for our moſt extraordinary proceedings in the ſpring, but that ſaturnine diſpoſition in ſome, and that all-engroſſing appetite in others, of ſecuring only to themſelves, power and ſalary.

WHAT elſe among our other enumerated evils, could permit Jamaica to want the knowledge of war's declaration, from authority, till the month of Auguſt? the neglect of this ſo neceſſary and obvious advice was not confined to that iſland; other ſettlements ſhared a proportionable delay; and letters arrive from every part of the American continent with complaints, that their only advice of this important event, is from trading ſhips.

THESE and ſuch like omiſſions, though ſmaller objects of complaint, are proofs of that unexcuſable ſupineneſs, which has of late infected every tranſaction. With earlier intelligence our trade would have been leſs expoſed, and our American privateers ſooner let looſe. A meaſure, which infancy might ſuggeſt, and with orders, each youth in office might execute.

BUT whatever be the cauſe, it differs little if the effects are bad.

THE cataſtrophe we have lately felt, is not chargeable on the event of war; nor yet alone on the timidity of one man, the non-reſiding governor, abſent colonels, or defective regiments; but,

but, upon thoſe infatuated lookers on, who notwithſtanding repeated admonitions and apparent danger, ſo injuriouſly turned to us the deafened ear.

OPPORTUNITY, how art thou abuſed! and victory, how art thou diſcarded! had we not thwarted Providence, how might good have been ſtruck out of evil: as in the firſt inſtance, we ſuffered the enemy to land, how might we have improved upon that deſperate enterprize? how eaſily might Richlieu, with every ſtore and man, have been captives, and their ſhips of war, adorning trophies? With what ſolicitude do we pretend to ſeek out for fleets; with what expence of treaſure and time, do we wait a juncture ſo rare! and yet, when they occur, what a pitiful figure do we make in the day of battle?

BLUSH Caſtellus, Auſonius bluſh, with Mevius and others in your train; bluſh as inſtruments of miſapplied promotion, as ſquanderers of time, loſers of opportunity, and patrons of defective ſuccours, which had they reached their deſtined place, ſeemed fitted rather for the iſland of Sark, than the important iſland of Minorca. Recollect your infidelity and improvidence, when the precious object was in danger, and the amazing tardineſs, with which your ſmall endeavours were enforced.

WHAT has availed the unparallelled encouragement, diſpatch and patriotiſm with which independent men and ſocieties, aſſiſted to man our navy, and to raiſe the provincial regiments?

and

and what thoſe ſterling millions, the laſt granted? a ſum, which aſtoniſhed foreigners with its ſound, and which is ſo greatly ſuperior to the annual expence of any power whatever! what ſignifies that unequalled zeal and Antigallic ſpirit, in the executive order of the people, if incapacity and indolence are ſuffered to intrude into the moſt active poſts of the crown?

REMEMBER, and be no more the ſtatues of ſtate: remember that government is not given you for venal ends, nor power delegated for your convenience and pleaſures. Though your wages are noble, and your ſeats honourable; forget not that you are accountable ſervants of the public, and that a learned and inquiſitive people are to be judges of your actions.

ARE not, at this time, the gentle and the generous, the impartial and humane, concerned in condemning the inanimate diſpoſition of a naval m——r? did the omiſſions of his predeceſſors in office, ever bring a ſtain upon this land, equal to what has enſued in his adminiſtration?

HAD the enemy dictated to us our conduct, could they have hit upon a more ſucceſsful plan, for ſecuring glory to themſelves and diſgrace to us, than the meaſures we purſued? was the ſquadron ſtrong enough to obliterate a riſque, or ſecure a victory? was its departure duly accelerated, when ordered to wait the ſlow and uncertain arrival of ſhips from the Downs, when others were completely ready at Spithead?

THE

THE ſailing of ſuch a fleet, when we ſtarted ſo late, ſurely ought not to have been temporiſed with, on frivolous pretexts, when ſuch grand emergencies were depending, and the breath of the public was inceſſantly wafting them to ſea.

THESE are ſolecifms in office, which ſmall abilities, and ſtill ſmaller attention might have avoided. At laſt, behold the man, which Auſonius aſſigned for the hero of naval atchievements, and the preſervation of Minorca, that vital part of our dominion, as a trading nation; who at firſt vainly boaſted the terms of battle ſhould be equal; and e'er the enemy had ſacrificed him a ſingle victim, meanly deſerted the combat, the iſland, and the nation's charge.

BUT Auſonius was not aware of B—g's defects; he knew not that he was obnoxious to the gallant and manly part of the navy.

THE pride of Auſonius, precludes him the acceſs of familiar converſe, or wholeſome information.

FROM his fancied height, he looks down on men, with all the inſolence of new acquired power, and with parts proſtrate as a muſhroom, and frigid as an icicle, he confides, that title, poſſeſſions, and alliance, are pillars that will ſupport his dome.

THOUGH his aſcent to power, was as rapid as caſual; yet, had he ſhewn himſelf equal to the truſt repoſed in him, he would have enjoyed the dignity, uncenſured, and undiſturbed.

BUT,

BUT, let facts declare, if he has not rendered ſlippery the precipice he now ſtands on, by his unmeaning conduct, and partial behaviour.

THE formality of employing Ad——l B—g muſt take place, becauſe, forſooth, he ſtood next in order; and indeed there ſeems propriety and juſtice in the rule, where men are equally unexceptionable.

BUT how is the practice ſwerved from, in recent inſtances, from only ties of perſonal attachment! how is the rectitude of this plan obſerved, when veterans, willing to be employed, devoted to the ſervice, and untainted in their character, are denied their rank on imaginary pretences? how large the chaſms in a certain liſt, on ſome late promotions? what ſtrides of deſpotiſm are there ſeen? how ſhameful a proſtitution of power? and how burthenſome ſuch acts of wantonneſs to this exhauſted nation. But, let us not deſpair: though the meaſure of evil is nearly full, let us yet hope that the time will ſoon arrive, in which thoſe gentlemen, by whoſe erring conduct our calamities are brought upon us, will, rather than ſee the ruin complete, have pity on the public weal, and ſave the ſinking bark. Let us require this, the leaſt of reparation, and the mildeſt of requeſts, that they will now become atoning volunteers for themſelves and their country, in withdrawing from ſcenes of buſineſs, to inactive ſolitude, that by their councils and influence, they may no longer interrupt the ſucceſs of our

arms, or farther diſgrace the dignified name and annals of this once victorious land.

LET Minorca and America, oppreſſive taxes, and a complaining people, the national debt, and declining credit, private intereſt, and general ſafety, the approaching ſeſſions, and the expiring year, all remind and leſſon them to obey the precept. Then may we hope to ſee victory wait upon our arms, and peace in a little time reach out her olive-branch, plenty diſplay her horn, and glory, honour and happineſs adorn our iſle.

No. 67. SATURDAY, *November* 6, 1756.

O Portius! *is there not ſome choſen curſe;*
Some hidden thunder in the ſtores of Heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blaſt the man,
Who owes his greatneſs to his country's ruin?

CATO.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IS it not very extraordinary, that ſo able and upright a m——y, amidſt the many attacks you have made upon their meaſures, have not found out a ſingle champion to return your blows? not one orator amidſt the venal and

favoured tribe, that has had the gratitude to plead their cauſe, but have ſuffered you to go on unmoleſted, to expoſe and diſſect their politicks; ſo that nothing ſeems left but the naked ſkeleton, without beauty, life, or motion? what can be the meaning of this? in former adminiſtrations, and many of them bad enough too, ſome colour was given to things; ſomething like a battle was fought: but at preſent the MONITOR alone keeps the field, and not an enemy is ſeen. What? are you ſo terrible, that no man dares face you? is there nothing to be oppoſed to your facts? your reflections: or to your reaſonings? or, which looks more probable; do they confide in their ſtrength of numbers, and care not, what you, or any body elſe think or ſay of them and their meaſures?

BUT, whatever be the cauſe of this total ſilence: whether they are too proud to reply; or too conſcious of the weakneſs of their cauſe to undertake its defence; this is certain, that matters are growing from bad to worſe; that every day is adding diſgrace to diſgrace, loſs to loſs, perplexity to perplexity; and our very ears begin already to tingle at the news, we have in part received, and which we expect every day to have confirmed from America, as well as from the Mediterranean.

IN ſhort, matters both at home and abroad have been ſo managed, that poſterity, who ſhall read the annals of the preſent times, will not conſider them as a hiſtory, but a novel: they

will never be induced to believe, that perſons who for ſo many years have preſided at the head of our affairs, ſhould have ſo managed matters, that we have not one ally in the world, but what we have purchaſed with our money; and even of ſuch, not one to be depended upon in the hour of need; that a nation heretofore courted for its friendſhip and protection by all the ſtates of Europe in their turns, ſhould be ſo ſunk in a few years, as to become a jeſt and ſcorn of thoſe very ſtates, whom our arms have more than once ſaved from certain ruin; and at a time too, when we have the ſtrongeſt navy in the world, and are able to do ourſelves juſtice, whatever nation dares to abuſe or inſult us.—And as we are contemptible abroad, owing entirely to our weak or wicked policy; ſo our councils at home are inconſtant, contradictious, and intangled in their own perplexities.—Is this declamation? no: I will illuſtrate it by a domeſtic example that juſtly deſerves our attention.

When the notion of an invaſion, by a deſcent of the French upon this iſland, had ſtruck our m——y with a pannic; what precaution was thought ſo proper, as the importation of foreign forces in our pay, to ſtrengthen our army? foreign forces were imported accordingly, at an immenſe expence, and ſlapdaſh, at one ſingle heat of policy, without weighing the adjuncts and conſequences of ſuch a ſtep; notwithſtanding it was objected to by many worthy

ſenators,

ſenators, as an injurious, dangerous, and unconſtitutional meaſure: and whether they were in the right or wrong, let the poor oppreſſed publicans and innholders prove and lament; ſome have ſhut up their houſes and are abſolutely undone; others half ruined, and all muſt ſhare the like fate, ſhould theſe foreign ſoldiers be quartered upon them during the enſuing winter: nor is this all; for where, I beſeech you, in that caſe is the traveller to be lodged and refreſhed, whoſe buſineſs is every day calling him from one part of the iſland to another? I ſay, ſhould theſe forces be quartered upon the publicans this winter, as they were before their encampment in the ſpring, their little reſidue will be eat up, and a general bankruptcy enſue. Can you wonder then they ſhould refuſe, if not bound by law, to take them in? but pray; by what law are they bound? the common law knows nothing of ſtanding armies, and the mutiny bill is annual, and reſpects only our Britiſh forces. Well: if our publicans and innholders are not obliged by law to entertain theſe foreign troops: tell me, I intreat you, who are? are private families? that will not be ſaid. What then muſt be done? will you condemn them to lie abroad, and ſtarve in camps? humanity forbids that;—is it not aſtoniſhing, that an embaraſs ſo obvious ſhould at firſt have eſcaped the foreſight of our great ſtateſmen; above all, when they had that oracle of the law to adviſe with; who gave ſuch immortal proof

of genius in the ever-memorable act to prevent clandeſtine marriages; is it not amazing, that ſuch a difficulty ſhould eſcape his piercing eye? for my part I know not how to account for it, unleſs from a *judicial blindneſs*; nor can I find a better ſolution for the many monſtrous contradictions to all the dictates of common ſenſe, which our m——y of late have fallen into.

POSSIBLY, ſome ſaucy jack-hireling with a face of braſs may ſtep forth and cry; what? will you make no allowance for errors of humanity? Yes, I will: but not for ſuch—as he that runs might have read before-hand. Suppoſe a general of an army ſhould loſe a battle by a moſt palpable blunder, and in excuſe ſay, "*I* "*did not think of it*;" whatever allowance we merciful moderns may make, the ancients pronounced the very plea infamous:—"Turpe eſt "dicere, *non putavi*:" and pray! why ſhould the ſtateſman expect better quarter than the general? In a word, the caſe of the publican ſurely deſerves our compaſſion; and if the law will protect him in his refuſal, can you be angry with him for taking ſhelter under it, when natural inſtinct bids him? or rather are you not angry with thoſe tools of juſtice, who by their threatenings would frighten him out of his rights. I hope there are no ſuch tools in Kent, nor any Man of Kent ſo weak, as to yield to illegal impoſitions. Self-preſervation is the elder law of our nature; and no man will ſubmit to be undone, if in his power to avoid it. And yet

at

at the ſame time I cannot but indulge a compaſſionate fellow-feeling for theſe heroic mercenaries, brought over, as pretended, to prevent our diſtreſs.

In this thorny and contentious affair, what think you, Mr. Monitor, of the following propoſal?

It is notorious to all, in what manner preferments, both civil and eccleſiaſtic, have been diſpoſed of late years; and how meritorious the perſons, who have ſhared miniſterial favours; and as they have now a fair opportunity to ſanctify their maſter's blunder, by making a voluntary tender of their houſes and purſes, to accommodate theſe gentlemen-ſoldiers, and that in a far better manner, than they could poſſibly be in our inns and alehouſes. Surely, they will not be backward in concurring with a ſcheme, that muſt needs be grateful to their benefactor; and at the ſame time be inſtrumental in ſaving from ruin, many uſeful people, whoſe profeſſion is abſolutely neceſſary in ſuch a buſy nation as ours.

The generals and ſuperior officers, as low as the degree of a colonel I would have lodged in our biſhop's country palaces, which are generally empty, during the ſeſſion of parliament; and were their lordſhips to keep a decent table for their entertainment, they would carry back into Germany a high character of their goodneſs and hoſpitality; which would do immortal honour to our prelacy, as well as to the judgment of

our noble m——e, to whom they owe their advancement: and beſides; thoſe holy walls might poſſibly inſpire theſe ſons of Mars (ſhould any want it) with the fear of GOD: and thus hoſpitality would do the buſineſs of religion. Whether this plan would take in all officers of the firſt rank, I cannot ſay; but let our biſhops ſet the precedent, and no doubt our officers of ſtate with other noble courtiers would follow their examples, and ſupply the deficiency.

OFFICERS ſubaltern may be diſtributed among deans, canons, prebendaries, and other dignitaries on the part of the church; and among commiſſioners, ſecretaries, tellers, clerks, and innumerable other diviſions and denominations on the part of the ſtate: and would it be any uncommon inſtance of virtue, to ſhew their generoſity to the friends of their benefactor and King? what others may think, I cannot ſay, but for my part, had I the honour to be ranked in either of thoſe liſts, I ſhould moſt chearfully diſpenſe a part of my income for the credit of him, who gave me the whole; and ſhould any favoured perſon hang an a——e, in caſe this project ſhould be ſet on foot, it ſhould be noted down, as an inſuperable barrier to all his future expectancies.

WELL! you have provided for the officers; tell us now, what is to be done with the common ſoldiery? for here lies the main difficulty; becauſe their number is great; their pay ſmall; and theſe are the locuſts that ſo terrify the poor publican s.

publicans. For theſe I would open a public ſubſcription, which, added to their pay, might put them in a capacity of boarding in private houſes of inferior rank; which are always ready to turn the penny in an honeſt way; and if they admit them voluntarily, no injury is done; *Volenti non fit injuria* is an old maxim: thus all heart-burnings would be extinguiſhed at once, and the blunder of a miniſter be converted to the honour of the nation.

SHOULD an objector aſk; How can a ſum be raiſed, adequate to the occaſion? O Sir, with all imaginable eaſe; as I could ſoon demonſtrate, had I the liſts of all the inferior officers, and fine curates, from fifty to two hundred pounds *per annum*; which claſſes I allot to this part of my deſign; and to theſe may be added ſuch learned clerks, who, although not dignified, yet have crown livings, not diſcharged in the King's book, and conſequently above fifty pounds *per annum* clear value; all theſe put together form an army of men, whoſe obligations to the m—y are confeſſed; and would they freely tax themſelves, even at the low rate of two *per cent.* upon their ſeveral incomes, I am confident, it would raiſe a ſum equal to the preſent exigency.

THIS would at once convince theſe foreign gentry, that a want of generoſity is not among our national vices; but that the quartering, they had reaſon to expect, was at length diſcovered by our m——y, as it was before by men of

good underſtanding, to be inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of our country; and that, not a barbarity of manners, but the fear of utter ruin, had forced our publicans and innholders to the ſeeming cruel reſolution of not receiving them into their houſes.

But when by a generous and free ſubſcription their pay is ſo augmented, that perſons, whether private or public, may entertain and lodge them without any detriment, at leaſt, if not with ſome ſmall advantage, I truſt all murmuring on this head would ſoon ceaſe; and ſhould the moſt heroic King of Pruſſia, as is intimated, have occaſion for theſe forces on the continent, they will part with us in good humour, as we ſeem diſpoſed to part with them; and ſhould our home ſecurity be a little weakened by ſuch a ſubtraction; ſurely our deep politicians will be able to model a militia, that will amply ſupply their room. This being agreeable to our old conſtitution will be ſubject to no ſuch embarraſſment, and will undoubtedly be as good a defence, as foreign troops, who are little intereſted in our fate, whether it be proſperous or adverſe.

This project, Mr. Monitor, which ſome perhaps will call a maggot, I found ſtirring in my brain upon the preſent perplexity of the innholders; it has now crawled into your hands, and you are to give it wings, or cruſh it under your foot, at pleaſure. Should it reach the eyes or ears of our miniſtry, I cannot but think they will

will adopt it, as their child, as it was conceived and brought forth for their uſe; and I propoſe that a ſubſcription be opened immediately in different quarters of the town, and at the offices of public exciſe in the country, for the convenience of perſons at a diſtance: and ſurely not one miniſterial man, who has received or even expects favours, will be backward in promoting a ſcheme, ſo reaſonable in itſelf, ſo grateful to their King, and ſo critically conducing to the public peace; as well as to the preſervation of a uſeful ſet of men, without whoſe accommodations it is impoſſible to carry on the traffic and buſineſs of the nation.

THUS, Sir, I have candidly conſidered, and modeſtly pleaded the cauſe of the poor publican; nor at the ſame time have I forgot the hard caſe of the German common ſoldiery; and this generous expedient, ſo plain to underſtand, and ſo obvious to execute, will, I truſt, ſplit the difference ſo nicely between them, that neither will have cauſe to complain: the publican may be handſomely paid for ſuch a number of ſoldiers, as he is willing and has conveniencies to admit, without ſhutting out the traveller from his inn; and the ſoldier at the ſame time will be better fed and pleaſed, and not leave his curſes upon the iſland, when he turns his back; as if we were a nation of ſavages; ſtrangers to the laws of hoſpitality, and unnatural in our carriage to our ſuppoſed friends and protectors. In am,

D. SIR, *Your old correſpondent*,

PLAIN ENGLISH.

No. 68. SATURDAY, *November* 13, 1756.

——— *Patriam tamen obruit olim*
Gloria paucorum, & laudis, titulique cupido.
JUV. Sat. X.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

NOT only the Roman commonwealth, but every other ſtate has at times felt the effects of that human propenſity for power, in which ſome few have always gloried, to the riſque, and frequently to the ſubverſion, of their country: though it has been neceſſary to introduce and ſupport it under the moſt popular pretences.

THE ancients tried almoſt every method in this ſchool of politics. When Saul diſobliged the Hebrews, they depoſed him and ſet up David to reign over them in his ſtead. When Tarquin began to tyrannize, the Romans murdered him, expelled his family, and erected themſelves into a republic. In both theſe revolutions the *public good* ALONE was pretended: but the events convince the impartial reader, that the change of men did not at all contribute to the real welfare of the people. The continual wars which oppreſſed Judea in the ſupport of David's

David's exaltation to the throne, and the eternal conteſts about the magiſtracy at Rome, are remarkable proofs that the *public good* on both occaſions was forced to yield to the intereſt of thoſe, who were ſeeking after riches, honours, and power.

HAS not England more than once copied theſe examples? to wave the miſeries, which over-whelmed this nation in the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, two engines of ambitious lords to ſerve their private intereſts, whereby the people were ſure to ſuffer in their liberty and property, whoever ſucceeded; let me aſk; Who gained by the commonwealth, that was raiſed upon the ruins of the regal power cut off with the head of Charles I.? every one, that before were clamorous for the liberty of the ſubject, fought their own, not their country's good. Men, who had throve under the dew of popularity for eſpouſing the cauſe of the people, idolized the tyrant, who permitted them to partake in the ſpoil of the ſubjects. The government changed hands: but were the meaſures, complained of, changed alſo? yes: from bad to worſe. The taxes, which created ſo great a hatred under Charles, were much augmented and rigorouſly levied by the former champions of liberty under the ſanction of a ſtanding army; and the ſyſtem, which had thereto been purſued to curb the ambitious views of France, was immediately dropped by joining with that court to humble the Spaniſh monarchy. So that by this

this revolution the Britiſh lion, which raged under the ſtripes of a cord, was thoroughly tamed and brought to ſubmit to the moſt ſlaviſh impoſitions under the laſh of ſcorpions. When men of corrupt principles and weak intellects are intruſted with the reins of government, or the hinges of an adminiſtration, their meaſures will always be planned upon ſelfiſh views, and executed with diſhonour, loſs, and oppreſſion. Their avarice, ambition, or vices ſuggeſt the worſt of means to maintain their power. They glory in the art of impoveriſhing and humbling their own people, and remain inſenſible at the encroachments and victory of their enemies.

AGAIN, who can recollect the change of men in the year 1688, and forbear aſking, How the nation was bettered by that revolution? it was but a very ſhort time after King William was placed upon the throne, before an honeſt farmer ſilenced his landlord, a court paraſite, extolling the miniſtry for relinquiſhing the hearth-money tax, by aſking this ſimple queſtion; *My Lord, what have we got by the ſwop?* Was not this revolution ſubmitted unto by the people upon their expectations, and upon a promiſe from thoſe that conducted the ſame, that all grievances, (ſuch as the power to diſpenſe with penal laws, the maintaining an army of mercenaries, the being conſtrained to take ſoldiers into their houſes, contrary to the expreſs words of the *petition of rights*, &c. and the various arts made uſe of to deſtroy the freedom of parliaments,

ments, by pre-engaging the electors with commands, threats, promiſes, prayers, or ſolicitations; or by corrupting the deputies of the people by favours or rewards,) ſhould be redreſſed; and that the rights of the people to be tried by juries of men of their own condition in life; to be repreſented by gentlemen of their own election; not to be taxed for the aid of any foreign power; and to be permitted the uſe of arms, when the ſafety of their King and country ſhould make them neceſſary to repel an enemy from abroad, or to curb and puniſh rebels at home; ſhould be eſtabliſhed on a rock, which neither power nor time ſhould be able to aboliſh? and were not theſe rights confirmed by that act, which ſecures the crown of the Britiſh empire to the illuſtrious family now upon the throne?

No doubt, the principles upon which that great change was brought about, and on which the act of ſettlement was formed, are the ſtability of the nation, and the life of its conſtitution. But ſhould we review the ſeveral *miniſters* entruſted with the care of this conſtitution: how different have their meaſures been to thoſe principles of the revolution! how far from anſwering the ſanguine expectations of the people! Should any one take the pains to collect the many acts, which they have prevailed with the parliament to paſs in prejudice to an Engliſhman's birthright to be tried by his peers; and the various attempts and practices to deſtroy the freedom of elections, and to bring a majority of

the

the people's repreſentatives, as well as the houſe of Lords under the management and direction of the crown: ſhould we ſum up the three hundred and thirty millions, levied upon the people of this land for the aid of foreign powers, in purſuance of that new ſyſtem of politics, brought in by the Stadtholder, and entailed for many years upon us by too great an affection for certain poſſeſſions in Germany: Should we enumerate the many laws, which have ſince paſſed for diſarming the natives, for the diſcouraging the exerciſe of defenſive weapons, amongſt that claſs of men employed by other nations to fight their battles, and for maintaining, diſperſing, and quartering mercenary troops, to the diſquiet and terror of his Majeſty's liege ſubjects: or ſhould it be told in generations to come, that notwithſtanding the act of ſettlement prohibits not only our engaging in a war on the continent, in favour of foreign territories, but excludes all foreign troops from ſetting foot in Britain, that there was a miniſtry ſo forgetful of their duty to their King and country, as to oppoſe a national militia, and at one time to import two armies of German mercenaries into the bowels of this kingdom; would it not give the Jacobite too fair an opportunity to gird us with reproach, and to aſk, *What we have got by the ſwop?*

WHAT is all this to be aſcribed unto? Not to the principles, upon which the people conſented to thoſe changes and ſettlements; but to the unfortunate, unhappy, and deluſive choice of

of thoſe ſervants, who have from time to time, like janiſſaries, ſurrounded the throne, and availed themſelves of the vices of the people, and the foible of their S——n, to erect themſelves into an arbitrary power. The misfortune is plainly this: every new miniſtry have been ſo much enamoured with their exaltation, and ſo fearful of a diſgrace, that the very meaſures, which they ſo furiouſly and rationally combated and expoſed, became the principles of their own conduct. And as they have not always been ſelected from the moſt learned, nor from the beſt in character and circumſtances, and ſetting no bounds to their paſſions, they have moſt commonly adopted thoſe blunders and unconſtitutional proceedings, which are dictated by ignorance and ambition.

POWER acquired by deceit, and ſought after for private views, is ever to be ſuſpected: cannot be truſted: will coincide with any meaſure to weaken the hands of that power, to which it is accountable. Hence flows the ſource of every misfortune in thoſe adminiſtrations, which emptied our purſes and diſarmed our bodies: which created penſions, multiplied places, ruled under the awful appearance of a ſtanding army, and miſapplied the treaſure, granted for the defence of our own dominions, in meaſures calculated for the ſecurity of a German el——e; while Minorca is ſhamefully ſtolen from the crown of Great Britain, and America is in the greateſt danger of ſharing the ſame fate.

THEREFORE ſhould there come a time, when the prime advocates for the people, the heads of the oppoſition to thoſe meaſures, which brought diſhonour to the crown, and ruin to the nation; who declaimed againſt all kind of impoſition, and contended for the redreſs of our grievances; may be invited to the helm of ſtate; let them not forget the rock, upon which ſo many before them have ſplit. If they alſo ſhould veer about, and without bluſhing become the accomplices of the very criminals they had avowed to bring to juſtice; and only made uſe of popularity, to be wafted into a ſituation, where they may with impunity rivet that yoke, which they ſtood engaged to remove and break in pieces; let them remember, that the MONITOR will not fail to tell them in plain Engliſh of their doings.

IT is not the change of men only, but of meaſures alſo, that muſt ſave the nation. A change like that in 1742, when authority and power made ſuch an alteration in the new ſtateſmen, that they rejected our inſtances, deſpiſed our reſentments, and made us feel their little fingers to be heavier than the loins of him, they had devoted to be the *ſtate Jonah*, muſt expect to be treated with an oppoſition, that will never remit, till both they and the national grievances are removed.

OUR affairs both at home and abroad are come to ſuch a criſis, that no appearances but what are grounded on the real intereſt of the nation

nation can be able to ſupport the adminiſtration. The difficulty of raiſing money, and the ſucceſs of our enemies ſhew that either the nation or their drivers muſt ſubmit to fate. Names and forms, which have ſo often and ſo long, upon every change of the miniſtry, deceived us, can no longer amuſe a people, when they ſhall ſee oppreſſion walk abroad bareſaced, corruption penetrating into every cloſet, and that either the commonweal or the miniſtry muſt inevitably ſink.

THE good people of England, in degeneracy capable of great things; in ruin formidable; will not fail to exert their natural properties, ſhould they be impoveriſhed, betrayed, and abandoned. It is a grand miſtake in thoſe, who are riſen to power on the ſhoulders of the people, to treat them with defiance and diſdain: as if the ſame power that paved the way to their advancement was not able to pull them down. For, it is ſeldom known that any one, who forces himſelf into the c-b-n-t, does maintain his footing, when he has forfeited his credit with the public. Beſides, is it not always ſeen, that where two factions are jumbled together in council without being reconciled, neither will be at reſt till one obtains a complete victory?

IF therefore any advances are made for a *coalition*, let the advocates for liberty and juſtice beware of a com-promiſe. Fluids of an abhorrent nature when mixed produce fermentation inſtead of union; which never intermits till one

is totally ſubdued; and the veſſel in which they are incloſed is often endangered by its violence. Whereas if they carry into the cabinet the noble principles, which made the doors fly open to receive them: if they maintain in the preſence of their Sovereign the home truths, which they have diſplayed in the ſenate, and by which they have gained the affections of the people: if they ſhall never riſe from the footſtool of the throne; nor accept of a place of truſt or favour, till the intereſt of G—— B—— ſhall be received and allowed to be the only baſis of Britiſh politics, not to be departed from on any conſideration; till juſtice, without partiality, ſhall be done upon the authors of our preſent misfortunes and loſſes; till the nation ſhall be aſſured of being put into a ſtate of defence by a well regulated militia, and delivered for ever from the terrors and expence of foreign troops; they will have no rivals to fear within doors, and all honeſt men will join to ſupport their adminiſtration from without.

Does not the preſent juncture of affairs require this of our moſt eminent ſtateſmen, who are fully convinced of the impracticability of acting for the good of the commonweal with copartners, who, like the ſerpent-ſeed of Cadmus, are in all debates bent upon defeating each other; and who, according to a late writer, have been for "many days wrangling among themſelves "for the ſpoils of a nation on the brink of ruin "and diſgrace?" Does not ſuch a declaration

confirm

confirm the neceſſity of the patriotic ſyſtem, to cleanſe the Augean ſtable, before any man of great popularity accepts the helm? Would HE not be a *State Quixote* to join with men, who would treat him like a perſon of no more merit than the ſon of perdition? Is the avoiding of men, or rejecting a coalition with thoſe, who beſiege the t——e, and have brought their K— and country into the greateſt diſtreſs, by their ignorance, indolence, or ———, fighting imaginary objects of terror? can there be any expectations from the remnant of a miniſtry, which, according to a late letter-writer, who pretends to be in the ſecret, from the year 1748 to 1755, has ſo deeply laid the foundation of our ruin, to engage any ſenſible or honeſt man to join them? or to join in the council with a man who pocketted and ſunk in oblivion thoſe American memorials, which might have prevented the diſtreſſes of our colonies? theſe are the men from whom the advocates of our country, and the real friends of the royal family, ſeparated, after they had exerted their utmoſt abilities to prevent meaſures, which proghoſticated the fatal events of the year paſt; and with whom no future adminiſtration will be able to acquire the character of purſuing meaſures,

Which Juſtice warrants, and which Wiſdom guides.

Z.

CATO.

No. 69. SATURDAY, *November* 20, 1756.

Ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.

Cambridge, November 4, 1756.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

REFLECTING the other night on the preſent circumſtances of affairs, ſleep inſenſibly ſtole upon me, and my imagination was amuſed with the following viſion.

I FOUND myſelf at the end of a long and ſpacious avenue, formed by rows of lofty trees; and my view was terminated by a ſumptuous edifice, which ſeemed to be built upon much higher ground than that upon which I ſtood; but the pillars which ſupported it were extremely ſlight.

WHILE I was looking round with ſurprize, a ſtranger accoſted me in a friendly manner with an offer to be my guide, and to explain all the objects which engaged my attention.

AS we advanced, I perceived the ground continually riſing and the width decreaſing, till it almoſt ended in a point, where the building ſtood: and I obſerved too ſeveral groops of people planted upon different parts of the aſcent, who

who ſeemed to be extremely buſy; but I had no idea of the nature of their employments.

My guide informed me, that the building I ſaw was the temple of POWER; a goddeſs, ſaid he, at whoſe chief diſpoſal are all the dignities and honours, that are beſtowed on men. But he added, that her empire was very precarious and uncertain, liable to great changes and accidents; its chief ſecurity depending upon the number of her ſupplicants; that accordingly, thoſe perſons, whom I obſerved by the way, were placed there by the goddeſs, with orders to exert their faculties in the art of perſuading all that paſſed by to liſt themſelves into her ſervice, and to become votaries at her altar.

As we appoached nearer, I perceived, at ſome diſtance, wide of the temple, a large rock, and in it a cave with a narrow entrance, lighted only by one glimmering taper, which ſcarce ſerved any purpoſe, but to caſt a melancholy gloom about the place.

My guide told me, that that was the place which VIRTUE had choſe for her retirement, who was formerly in joint-poſſeſſion of that empire with POWER, which this goddeſs had now uſurped entirely to herſelf: that during their united intereſt, the empire had been fixed upon ſo firm a baſis as to be liable to no change of time or circumſtances; but in its preſent divided ſtate, it was ſo wavering and unſettled, that VIRTUE had retired thither, in hopes that

an opportunity ſoon might offer for the reſtitution of her loſt honours.

DURING their joint-government all honours were diſtributed with the moſt impartial hand, and only conſcious merit approached with modeſt ſteps. But an entire diſregard to all the dictates of *Conſcience*, and an invincible aſſurance were now the moſt neceſſary qualifications; with the help of theſe alone men arrived at the higheſt honours, nor found any occaſions for the obſolete aſſiſtance of Honeſty, Genius, Parts, or Learning.

BEING arrived within the verge of the temple I heard a confuſed murmur, which appeared to be a mixture of *joy*, *hope*, *ſorrow*, and *diſappointment*: and the ſteps that led up to the temple were ſo very weak, that they almoſt deterred me from venturing up: however, I followed my guide, though the whole fabric ſeemed to ſhake under me, every ſtep I took, among a crowd of thoughtleſs mortals, who were continually preſſing up, and ſeemed inſenſible of danger.

UPON my entrance, I beheld the goddeſs ſeated upon a lofty throne, graſping a ſceptre in one hand, and with the other diſtributing titles and penſions amongſt her obſequious ſervants, who had forfeited both honour and reputation in her ſervice. There was an imperiouſneſs in her countenance, which ſhe endeavoured to ſoften with forced ſmiles and an affected affability. The obſequious multitude of all profeſſions

and degrees crowded round her throne, and contended with the greateſt eagerneſs for her higheſt favours. Her votaries tendered their homage to her with the greateſt reverence, and ſeemed to acknowledge her as their *ſovereign deity*. She had two attendants in conſtant employment to execute her commands; their names, I was told, were HOPE and BRIBERY. When a diſcontended party attempted to raiſe tumults and commotions; the goddeſs immediately ſent HOPE to them with ſpecious pretences and fair promiſes, if they would truſt to her honour and ceaſe murmuring: but ſhe ſet before their view only the proſpect of rewards; and her influence was extremely precarious and uncertain. But when a party, either wavering in their firſt affections, or diſappointed in their expectations for ſervices already done, would break out in open rebellion, forſwear all attachment to the goddeſs, and declare their intention to ſeek out the unfrequented cell of VIRTUE; in theſe emergencies *Bribery* was immediately diſpatched to ſooth their reſentment, and to bring them back to obedience: this meſſenger carried a ready reward with her, and ſeldom failed of ſucceſs.

I STOOD ſome time ſurveying the objects about me, and contemplating the vain purſuits, in which mortals were engaged. Without reaſon to direct their ſteps, and prudence to foreſee the fatal conſequences, they preſs forwards to their ruin, till they arrive as it were upon

upon the point of a precipice, and even then are ſcarce able to diſcern the tremendous depth, and the ſurges that beat below.

AFTER I had indulged myſelf, for ſome time, with ſuch reflections, and ſufficiently ſatisfied my curioſity, I left the temple. I had no ſooner deſcended the ſteps, than I beheld a female form of divine mein advancing with a majeſtic air. A wreath of cypreſs bound her brows, and a viſible melancholy was diffuſed over her countenance. In one hand ſhe held a ſhield, in the other a ſpear, on which ſhe reſted as ſhe walked. As ſoon as ſhe approached near me, I knew her to be BRITANNIA. On one part of the ſhield were engraved the trophies won at *Creſſy*, *Poitiers*, and *Agincourt*: but that ſide was turned towards her, and the images ſeemed almoſt effaced. On the outſide, in the moſt conſpicuous part, were repreſented in freſh and lively figures. *Colonies* laid waſte, *Fortreſſes* taken, *Iſlands* ſubdued.—A melancholy ſcene!

AS ſhe approached the temple, her countenance changed, and her eyes ſparkled with indignation, ſhe preſently turned aſide, and with haſtier ſteps took the direct way to the dark receſs of VIRTUE. I followed her through many dark and intricate windings, till we came to the inmoſt part of the rock, where the goddeſs ſat; her arms ſupporting her reclined head. Her looks were penſive, but extremely ſoft, amiable and beautiful; an inexpreſſible lovelineſs ſhone through the veil of melancholy, like the

the ſun darting through a watery cloud. BRITANNIA bowed, and thus addreſſed the goddeſs. "Say wherefore, goddeſs! do you retire to theſe "dreary cells, and withdraw your divine in- "fluence from BRITANNIA's ſons? behold thy "ſupplicant! whom repeated misfortunes, occa- "ſioned by thy long and much-lamented ab- "ſence, have, I fear, rendered beyond redemp- "tion wretched. My long boaſted empire over "the main ſeems to be near its fall. My arms "are every where unſucceſsful, and the very "heart of all my realms is threatened by a "perfidious enemy. Alas! I fondly thought "that theſe laſt thirty years would have been "one continued ſcene of renown and glory; "and that the tranſactions of the preſent times, "would have been no ways inferior to thoſe of "my *Henry*'s or my *Edward*'s, and have ſhone "illuſtrious in the annals of my hiſtory. Nor "were my hopes and expectations ill grounded. "For behold! a Prince now ſways my ſceptre, "the whole tenor of whoſe life has been con- "ſtantly devoted to your ſervice. Who has "abilities to plan, prudence to conduct, and "reſolution to execute the nobleſt enterprizes; "who ſees moſt feelingly all the calamities, "which my ſons undergo; but ſome DEMON "oppoſes all his purpoſes, and makes every "effort fruitleſs and unſucceſsful. When vice "reigns predominant on all ſides, behold him "ſtemming the oppoſing torrent, and, greatly "ſingular, acknowledging your divinity. No

"change

" change of time or circumſtances can alter his " ſettled purpoſe: he dares to perſevere under " your banner, and preſs his grey heirs with the " helmet in your ſervice. When faction ſpreads " itſelf around, and tumults and ſeditions diſtract " the multitude; not a ſingle whiſper dares " attempt to ſoil his honours. Amidſt the im- " petuous rage of envy, malice, and detraction, " he ſits poſſeſſed of the united affections of his " people, who, in contemplating the ſorrows " which he feels, almoſt forget their own.— " Agreeable to theſe illuſtrious virtues; I had " ſet before my view a long imaginary ſcene of " greatneſs. I thought to have extended wide " my dominions and made my ſons the terror " and admiration of foreign realms. But alas! " how changed the proſpect! no more the " victorious laurel binds my brows; the mourn- " ful cypreſs muſt ſupply its place. Diſgrace " and infamy attend all my ſteps, and the ſound " of triumph is heard no more.—

" But if BRITANNIA's name was ever grate- " ful to thee; if ſhe has ever offered acceptable " ſacrifices at thy altar; if that illuſtrious guar- " dian of thy ſons, and all his virtues are thy " care, riſe, goddeſs riſe, and maintain thy cauſe! " thine and BRITANNIA's cauſe are one. Riſe " from this ſtate of ſolitude! and aſſert that " right, which POWER, untutored and undi- " rected by thy wiſdom, has long uſurped! " ſhew deluded mortals the real and ſubſtantial " good, and that the paths, which lead to thee

" are

"are the only road to lasting honours, prospe-
"rity, and glory."—

THE goddess raised her head, and with soft and soothing accents, thus replied: "BRITANNIA, "why will you oblige me to recall all my suf-"ferings to my mind, and reflect on all those "evils which blind mortals have made me "undergo?—had thy sons continued to support "my cause, and had not proved rebellious to "my interest, they had never sunk under this "weight of woe. Instead of those calamities, "which they now deplore, prosperity and suc-"cess had constantly attended them, and honour "and conquest crowned their enterprizes.— "But they refused to hear my voice and would "not be directed by my councils. No suppli-"cants attended at my temple, no vows, no "sacrifices were offered at my altar. That "glittering idol that presides in yonder temple "was the sole object of their adoration; to her "they obsequiously bowed the knee; and blindly "thought they were in the direct path to per-"manent felicity. Hence BRITANNIA! flow "thy sorrows: behold! here the source of all "thy woes—of all thy woes and mine. But "when I think of that illustrious Prince that "sways thy sceptre, and all his sufferings, I feel "a great resentment rising in my soul.—Shall I "permit him to be encompassed with injuries, "and give no assistance to redress his wrongs? "shall I behold him sinking under the weight "of age and affliction, and administer no balm

"to

"to ſooth his ſorrows? No, I will riſe and "greatly vindicate his cauſe. I will deſtroy all "that pageant empire, and pull the uſurper "from her throne; and *thoſe* only, who are "devoted to my intereſt ſhall preſide there. "BRITANNIA! ſelk thy ſons; if they will re-"turn to me; if they will grant me my long "neglected honours, and firmly attach them-"ſelves to the cauſe of VIRTUE: behold! uni-"verſal happineſs and proſperity ſhall ſucceed "the preſent ſcene; and Britons riſe in all their "ancient ſplendor. Their Prince ſhall forget "all his ſorrows, and a ſcene of happy days "ſhall cloſe his reign."—

THE goddeſs had no ſooner ſpoke, than an ecſtaſy of joy immediately ſeized me, ſleep left me with the pleaſing hopes that the viſion paſſed through the horny gate: and the firſt news I heard was that ſome changes were already made to reſtore VIRTUE to her primitive ſituation.

P—P.

No. 70. SATURDAY, *November* 27, 1756.

——— *Nihil eſt, Antipho!*
Quin, malè narrando, poſſit depravarier.
Tu id quod boni eſt, excerpis: dicis, quod mali eſt.
TER. in PHORM. IV. 4.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE expectations of the public from the conduct of your paper have ſo far been anſwered, that we have ſeen the good effects of thoſe great truths and fair arguments, which you have publiſhed, taking place by the removal of ſome men, charged with the diſhonour and loſſes, which have tarniſhed the diadem, and ſpread ſorrow thoughout the Britiſh dominions. How they, who at ſuch a criſis, when the exigence calls aloud for an alteration of meaſures as well as men, ſucceed to their power, ſhall work BRITANNIA's redemption, and ſteer wide of thoſe quickſands, which have ſwallowed up her riches, and clear of thoſe rocks, which hitherto have ſhipwrecked her pilots, is now the taſk impoſed upon you, if you hope to maintain the character of that independency with which you ſet out; and, as far as my judgment reaches, I think, you have deſerved; by commending good

good men and good meaſures, and cenſuring bad ones without reſpect of perſons.

Now is the time, when every *cynic* will be ſnarling, and every period twiſted to condemn you of partiality, of being attached to a party, or of being under the influence of men ſtigmatized with ambition. And the moſt convincing proof, that your paper remains in a ſtate of independency, that it is not biaſſed by favour or intereſt, and that it ſhall continue *open* to every pen able to detect bad men and meaſures, and to promote the good of our King and country, will be to avoid the extremes of flattery and calumny. And, as a *teſt* of your ſincerity in the true intereſt of your country, permit me again to appear under your protection, while I caution my fellow-ſubjects to beware of the mercenary pen, which vents its gall againſt a miniſtry, *before* it has had an opportunity to deſerve either praiſe or diſpraiſe; and while I add a few neceſſary admonitions to thoſe gentlemen, who declare they have no other motive than the love of their country for accepting of places, in which few have eſcaped the juſt hatred of the people.

It is granted that, "the exigency was certainly alarming, and called aloud for an alteration of men and meaſures:" it is confeſſed that the people had been brought to the *brink of ruin and diſgrace*: it is allowed, that our moſt gracious Sovereign was *willing* to embrace the *neceſſary* expedient of changing his miniſtry; and

and it is further granted that the FACTION, which had endeavoured to erect itſelf into an arbitrary power has been DETECTED: and can any one argue from theſe conceſſions, that a *coalition* could ever prove the ſolid baſis of a new adminiſtration, whoſe incentives ariſe from benevolence to their country? or that we might expect a general harmony, and the nation to be reſtored to that confidence with the miniſtry, which opens their hearts and their purſes, by an *amicable* juggle with thoſe men, whoſe meaſures have rendered them ſuſpected for their integrity, or reproached for want of ability, and have been found incapable of ſerving his Majeſty? ſhall any credit be given to a ſatyr, that blows both hot and cold, that grants the *neceſſity* of the change, and the King's *willingneſs* in complying with the voice of his people therein, and with the ſame breath would perſuade that the reigns of government are *ſeized* upon by men, who have neither talents, experience, nor knowledge ſufficient for the employments, to which, by the royal favour, and, I hope, for their own merit they have been appointed: and that the ableſt politicians, and friends of the nation are puſhed out by them, who have *forcibly* obtruded themſelves upon their Sovereign, and *uſurped* the adminiſtration? this certainly makes good the maxim, that, *no action can be ſo perfect, but is capable of miſrepreſentation.*

THE good people of England have an undoubted right to the ſervices of the brighteſt

ſtateſmen: therefore his Majeſty has diſmiſſed thoſe ſervants, who had neither abilities to adviſe, nor reſolution to execute the neceſſary meaſures for the honour and ſafety of his crown and dominions; and has committed the care of the nation to men, who, in his greateſt wiſdom, are accounted the moſt able to add ſplendor and dignity to our councils at home, and to give a check to the machinations of our enemies abroad; as ſoon as time and opportunity ſhall permit. But to require a teſt of their abilities *before* they are in a ſituation to act, is even as juſt, as to blame them for the miſconduct of their predeceſſors in office. Can any one, whom his Majeſty calls up to his aſſiſtance in the national diſtreſs, deſerve the imputation of ambition and ſelfiſhneſs, becauſe he refuſes to join in council with men, whoſe talents, experience, and knowledge of buſineſs have been univerſally condemned; and for inſiſting upon colleagues, on whoſe veracity, as well as abilities, he can depend for the vigorous and faithful execution of new meaſures, which ſhall be neceſſary to ſave us from ruin?

SUPPOSE there was ONE able ſtateſman in the *laſt* miniſtry of *real genius*, and *innocent* of their calamitous delinquency, how was he to be diſtinguiſhed? What had he to recommend him to a wiſe, honeſt, and active miniſtry? I dare ſay our letter-writer, who promiſes to pry into the motives of all political tranſactions, with the *curioſity*, or rather with

the *malverſation* of a Tacitus, does not mean, either the late head of the treaſury, or of the admiralty, or exchequer, or of the law; and ſhould the *ſcape-goat* prove to be a *Fox*, where ſhall we diſcover his real genius? except we call to mind his taciturnity, and the dumb ſhew of his puppets, when he carried every queſtion by a majority, even without the appearance of an argument. And how can He be innocent of the national grievances, who took part with thoſe, who oppoſed the motion for an enquiry into the conduct of the GRAND CORRUPTOR, and rejected the advice of thoſe patriots, who, on his promotion in 1755, promiſed to ſupport him in the eſteem of his country, provided he would not enter into meaſures deſtructive of its real intereſt? is not then, the able and innocent ſtateſman repreſented in competition with the head of the new miniſtry, a man of ſtraw? a phantom raiſed by this conjurer, purely to countenance his accuſation of ambition, and jealouſy againſt our Britiſh Tully.

AND the charge of continuing the S——y at W——r, and the author of the letter to the Kentiſh juſtice in the miniſtry, is far from being juſt, if intended to be fixed upon our new miniſter. But do not let it be underſtood, that any place or power is capable of ſkreening a delinquent from juſtice; or that any King, his ſucceſſor, is intitled more to grant a *noli proſequi*, and to protect his Secretary in the breach of the laws, than King Charles IIſt. was to deliver the

Earl of Strafford from the juſtice of the nation. And it is with great pleaſure, that the whole oppoſition to the riſing miniſtry is founded on no better ground, than what might have been objected to the Earl of Pembroke in King William's reign, who gave the greateſt content to the nation at the head of our maritime affairs; though no more qualified for it than Lord Temple: and on the invidious ſurmiſes of private intereſt, and on the miſtaken charge of a family-attempt to clip the prerogative, to violate the power of the judges, and Magna Charta by the *Buckingham-aſſize-act*; when it is notorious, that this act was an act of juſtice to fix the aſſizes of that county according to ancient cuſtom.

THUS ſtands arraigned our new miniſtry! And happy for the nation will it be, if from hence they ſhall be cautioned not to confide too much in the gales of proſperity. Gratifications of ambition, a boundleſs love of power, and a deſire of aggrandizing thoſe, who are linked with the prime miniſter by the ties of affinity and congenial views in life, are ſaid to be the ſole motives of his great undertaking.

IT therefore remains to admoniſh him and his collegues to unite in the cauſe of their diſtreſſed country, and to be reſolute in their oppoſition of all meaſures not calculated for her intereſt. Beware of thoſe men, who removed from employments, like bats, fly about in the dark, and who being long practiſed in corruption, ſhifts, and evaſions, will endeavour

to

to enervate your councils, and fruſtrate your inſtructions. And endeavour to reconcile the confidence of the people; for without that, it will be difficult to raiſe money: which will be eaſily done by a free and open intercourſe with their repreſentatives, without attempting to bribe their voices by places or penſions: and by obliging the plunderers of the public treaſure to come to an account, and the authors of our national diſgrace and loſſes to be brought to juſtice.

IT can be no excuſe to plead the command, or the pleaſure of the K— for a delay of an enquiry into misfortunes of the nation: for as a certain author words it, "If a Prince loves his "people, he will give them that reaſonable "ſatisfaction, and they who adviſe him other-"wiſe, and under his ſanction, act to the con-"trary, however they may diſguiſe it, are ac-"tually making a ſeparation between him and "his people:" who when they demand juſtice have a right to expect the performance of that part of the coronation oath, where the King promiſes to *cauſe law and juſtice to be executed in mercy* and *truth, in all his judgments when required.*

BUT how exact ſoever juſtice may be permitted to take place, it will be expected alſo that no time ſhall be delayed before proper meaſures ſhall be taken to put the nation in a proper ſtate of defence againſt all attacks from the enemy, by a national and well regulated militia, and to maintain the dominion of the

ſeas by a wiſe and vigorous appointment of our navy. And ſhould any ſuch ſums of Britiſh money be laviſhly exported for armies of foreigners, inconſiſtent with the policy of this iſland, as have been hitherto complained of, a NEW miniſtry would find it as difficult, as the late objects of their reſentment, to keep their footing.

THE true patriotic ſyſtem goes ſtill further; it ſtrikes at the root of all corruption. A free parliament not bought of the indigent, avaricious or unthinking electors; nor corrupted by the influence of the court; is the chief means to give life to the languiſhing conſtitution; and the criterion of the wiſdom and integrity of thoſe, who would convince us that their adminiſtration is founded upon virtue, and their intention is to purſue upright meaſures. Becauſe by this means they, who have been accuſtomed to frauds, and have plundered the nation in the treaſury, army, and navy, would dread a parliamentary enquiry: and be content with their juſt appointments: and the ſupplies would be faithfully applied according to the intention of the people.

SHOULD they, on the contrary, find that their taxes are increaſed, their money ſent to Germany, their trade and commerce cramped at home, and neglected abroad; their navigation interrupted; their fortreſſes, plantations, and colonies left expoſed to the invader; and themſelves continued in a defenceleſs ſtate at home, devoured with

with exciſemen, penſioners, and foreign troops; no colourings, no pretenſions to abilities and honeſty; no profeſſions of love to their country, and diſintereſtedneſs, would be able to ſooth the people's reſentment, or to reſtrain their paſſions. The good people of England are tractable and eaſy to be led, patient in ſuffering and long-bearing; but when once rouzed, no mountain-ſavage more fierce, tenacious, and fond of liberty; dutiful to their Princes; but entirely averſe to over bearing and rapacious miniſters.

O.

No. 71. SATURDAY, *December* 4, 1756.

All Scripture *is written for our inſtruction.*
St. *Paul's* Ep.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

MY intention is not to debaſe or burleſque the Sacred Oracles. No one can pay more regard to the word of GOD than your correſpondent. But I am ſo far from ſuppoſing that we are to terminate our attention on the objects therein repreſented; that I am convinced thoſe examples were wrote for our inſtruction upon whom the ends of the world are come; and that it is no more a crime to bewail the

tranſgreſſions of a modern date in the Scripture phraſe, than it is ſinful to imitate the actions of thoſe, whoſe piety and virtue have intitled them to a place in thoſe ſacred pages. Therefore, preſume there needs no apology for the contents of the following paper, under the title of

The firſt chapter of the ſecond book of THINGS.

HEAR ye men of *Britannia!* give ear ye inhabitants of *Hibernia!* ye *Plantationites!* and ſuch as dwell on the continent of *America*, and in the iſles of the ſea! hearken to the words of my mouth! for they are truth, and will be a comfort to the righteous, to whom they are ſweeter than honey; though to the wicked they are full of bitterneſs and gall.

2. THROUGH all your countries, far and near, terror ſhall go forth; judgment and juſtice ſhall be executed; becauſe, becauſe of the treſpaſs, the treſpaſs againſt my people, ſaith DARIUS the King;

3. AGAINST the *Pelemites*, the *Stonites*, the *Hardikites*, the *Foxites*, the *Anſonites*, the *Penſionites*, the *Lawbites*, and the *Lenites*, whoſe hands have been chief in thoſe iniquities, which are the cauſe of your being delivered to the ſword, to captivity and to a ſpoil, and to confuſion of face, as it is this day.

4. THEY digged Pits for you, which were not according to my commandments; but they ſhall fall into them themſelves: and judgment

ſhall

ſhall be executed upon them, upon their children, and upon all thoſe, who have joined in affinity with their abominations; ſo that there ſhall be no remnant, nor eſcaping of them: becauſe they have denied my law, and done every one according to his own will, abuſing my power and waſting my treaſure in rioting, chambering, wantonneſs and gaming; therefore will I caſt them out of my preſence, and their names ſhall be clean put out, ſaith DARIUS the King.

5. HAVE they not broken my people with a rod of iron? uſurping a dominion, to which they had no right. From the ſole of the feet even unto the head there is no ſoundneſs in them. Every one loveth gifts and followeth after rewards.

6. THEY, who rob my people, exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh their own power: the raiſers of taxes are become the glory of the kingdom, and places flow from them. By fraud, flattery, and deceit they have gained poſſeſſion of all my poſts of honour and truſt: the wicked rule by their means: the faithful and deſerving are rejected with ſhame, and I am diſhonoured and abuſed, ſaith DARIUS the King.

7. THEY work deceitfully: GOD is not in all their thoughts: they boaſt of their own ſtrength, and ſay, We ſhall not be moved; for we will unite to maintain our power: we will not ſcruple to make wrong charges, and we will enter upon the fatteſt livings, and reduce thoſe to a morſel of bread, that repine at oppreſſion.

preſſion. Thus they are become ſtrong: from a ſmall people they are grown mighty.

8. By theſe means the wicked, in my kingdoms, and in my provinces, bear rule and ſway; and, boaſting of their own heart's deſire, have done thoſe things, which their fathers dared not, and their fathers fathers held in abomination.

9. They obey not the law of my God, and take a bribe to betray the councils of their King. They have ſold my ſtrong holds, and my caſtles, ſquandered among themſelves the ſpoil, the prey, and the riches: my people are ſlain upon the point of the ſword, and their habitations made deſolate, and theſe uſurpers of my power take no care; yea, they forecaſt delays, when I would help them; and by mock armaments prevent the juſtice I would execute on the enemy, ſaith Darius the King.

10. I have heard the cries of my people, their vows and addreſſes are come up as a memorial before me: their ſorrows have reached my ears. I am moved with compaſſion at the voice of their complaints againſt thoſe, who proſtitute my name to eſtabliſh their own power, and join with the enemy to enſlave my people.

11. Why have ye deceived my people with empty words, and with vain promiſes; while you continue, yea, increaſe the burden of their taxes. Your mouth is full of deceit and fraud: under your tongue is miſchief and vanity. In your

your hearts ye are liars: your hands are ſwift to ſhed blood.

12. Lo! I and my people are become a reproach to our neighbours: to all that are about us. Their wiſe men deride and mock us: they ſhake their heads at us, ſaying; They ſaved other nations, themſelves they cannot ſave.

13. Thus are the mighty fallen, and we are deſpiſed: we are become a ſcorn and deriſion, and there is none to help us, ſaith Darius the King.

14. Arise, O Lord! O God! lift up thine hand: forget not the humble. Break thou the arm of the wicked and evil man. Thou that abhorreſt covetouſneſs, deliver me from the men who deal in bribery and corruption: thou that hateſt lying, and puniſheſt falſe-ſwearing, vindicate thy name and thy honour againſt the men, who in their moſt ſolemn aſſemblies encourage perjury and falſhood.

15. Shall not they, who ſet truth aſide, and by their example eſtabliſh vice and immorality, and render them faſhionable: who have laid a ſnare for Conſcience: laid ſnares to catch the unwary and unſtable, and laughed Virtue out of countenance, ſhall they not be called unto judgment for their iniquities? ſhall they not feel the rod of iron hiſſing hot? or ſhall they eſcape the pit where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched?

16. As troops of robbers wait for a man in the way, ſo they are a company who by conſent and

and design work all iniquity with greediness. They are given up to a reprobate sense: they meet to devise horrible plots: they are polluted with the abominations of Ahab; Sodom and Gomorrah reign in their heart: they are defiled with their sin, and are not ashamed.

17. The wickedness of their schemes are no longer concealed; within-doors, they devise ways and means to plunder and enslave, and without, my people are dumb like sheep in the hands of the shearers: they mourn like doves without hope of escaping, and like the hind and the hare they remain without heart: while the wicked that compass me about, like a pack of hounds in full cry, pursue them even unto death: but judgment springeth up like hemlock out of the furrows, saith Darius the King.

18. My people have been men of renown, they have multiplied exceedingly: their riches and their children were acquired and nourished with great care and industry: but the men who have set them up as a mark of their ambition, have gone about in secret places to prevent their increase and multiplying, by abridging the first command of the Almighty; and to consume the remains of their blood and treasure in expeditions they foresaw would fail, and in preparations never to be carried into action. Lo! thus my people have been shamefully betrayed, and the people, who boast of their liberty, are ready to be carried into bondage.

19. But

19. BUT I will no longer be deceived with vain words, nor divided from my people by falſhood. I will diſappoint them and caſt them down, who ſet their eyes to the earth, and grow fat with the prey of mine inheritance. I will work the ſalvation of the oppreſſed, I will break the yoke from off their necks, and make them free, ſaith DARIUS the King.

20. FOR they, who have filled their bellies with hid treaſure, and threaten ſudden deſtruction to my people: who bid them follow after the eaſt-wind, and have made leagues to their ruin: who have oppreſſed the manufacturers and the merchants, and loaded every ſoul with taxes and penal laws, too heavy to be borne; with burdens as have not been felt in any kingdoms, provinces, or dominions before: who are a moth and a ruſt, that conſumes the ſtaple of the nation, and eats out the ſubſtance of commerce: whoſe hearts are as hardened as Pharaoh's; and the time of my mercy is expired, through their obſtinacy and ingratitude; ſhall now find no mercy; my juſtice and vengeance muſt now take place: and I will humble them in the PITT, ſaith DARIUS the King.

21. WHO is wiſe, and he ſhall hear and underſtand theſe things; prudent, and he ſhall know them? for thoſe who are upright ſhall glory in the law, and walk therein; but the tranſgreſſor ſhall periſh by a public example.

22. THE hearts of my people, which ye have divided by your gifts and your cunning, ſhall be

united by wiſdom; my people ſhall be gathered together as one man; their voice ſhall be like the angry lion, and the roaring of the ſea.

23. THOSE who have ſowed wickedneſs ſhall reap iniquity, they ſhall eat the bread of bitterneſs; then ſhall they tremble in the morning early; then ſhall their troubles come ſwift upon them, becauſe of the league.

24. THEY truſt in their ſurety by the arm of fleſh, by placemen, in the multitude of dependants and expectants, but they ſhall be deprived of power, and ſtript of all authority and rule; their wickedneſs is become an abomination, they ſhall be cut off, becauſe of their councils; I will be obeyed, ſaith DARIUS the King.

25. THE fools ſay in their hearts, There is no King: this ſhall come againſt them in the day of wrath; we have intelligence with your foes and they are mighty and many in number, they work againſt you in the days of your proſperity, and they will riſe in the day of your trouble, when ye ſtumble they will fall upon you, and bury you in the pit, thence never more to riſe.

26. THEN will ye call for help and no one will come near you, your friends will forſake you in the day of enquiry, when your deeds ſhall be made known and your villanies made manifeſt, your flatterers will then laugh you to ſcorn, and ſcoff at your miſeries, then will hearts be grieved becauſe of the league.

27. IN

27. In that day the people will rejoice and make merry, that my indignation has laid hold on you, and my vengeance is accompliſhed; for that which is determined ſhall be done, becauſe it is yet for a time appointed, and it ſhall not paſs over, ſaith Darius the King. For that ye have purloined, and have been robbers of my people, ye ſhall pay the debt; your eſtates, your palaces, your honours, your gold, your ſilver, precious ſtones, and pleaſant things, nay your lives ſhall pay the forfeit; all theſe things ſhall be taken from you in that hour, and ye ſhall be exalted like *Haman*, when my will is known, ſaith Darius the King.

28. Bad tidings ſhall reach you from all parts, I will give ſanction to your accuſers: their accuſation ſhall be heard from the mouth of many witneſſes, and they ſhall be countenanced in the truth againſt you. I will turn my back upon you, and be deaf to your cries, the people lay ſtrong hold upon you in their fury, to utterly deſtroy you from the face of the earth.

29. All theſe things ſhall ſurely come to paſs becauſe of your wickedneſs in the land, becauſe of the league; I have ſworn it, ſaith Darius the King.—As the Lord liveth, I will perform my oath, ſaith Darius the King.

No.

No. 72. SATURDAY, *December* 11, 1756.

A Prince, that diſſembles with his people, teaches them to do the ſame with him.

MARQ. of HALIFAX.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

WHAT pleaſure! what joy! muſt it be to every friend of liberty, to every advocate for the conſtitution of Britain; to every one, who has bewailed the diſhonour, and the misfortunes, brought upon their King and country, to ſee that happy day when Majeſty has diſcovered the cloven-foot, come to a reſolution to emancipate himſelf from thoſe, who proſtituted his authority, gloried in their ſhame, and triumphed in their ignorance; and has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify his royal intention to rely upon the deliberation, advice, and aſſiſtance, not of a FACTION, whoſe abilities were moſt conſpicuous in ways and means to render his reign inglorious; but of a parliament inſpired by a people, with unanimity and firmneſs, who have never failed to carry their Princes through all difficulties, with honour, when Majeſty has relied on their aſſiſtance, and not forfeited their confidence by miſapplication of their money, or

in

in purſuit of meaſures, which threatened their liberty and debaſed their credit.

THESE are the genuine offſpring of that ſtock, which in all ages diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their loyalty and courage: who once won the French crown in the field of battle, and brought their King to grace the triumph of our Prince; and have more than once in our own memory, reduced them to ſue for peace, and vindicated the dignity of the Britiſh crown and its indubitable rights againſt the ancient enemy of theſe kingdoms, when France was in a much better capacity of invading and conquering our territories.

WHAT diſquietude muſt corrode a royal mind, whoſe attention was principally fixed upon the ſuccour and preſervation of America? when he diſcovered the little regard of his miniſters for its ſecurity, and the ill-concerted means of carrying thoſe trifling efforts into execution, which the clamours of the people, and the neceſſity of keeping up appearances, obliged them to make. His Majeſty declares, that the growing dangers, to which our colonies ſtand expoſed from our late loſſes in thoſe parts, demand reſolutions of vigour and diſpatch.

WHAT can a King do more? he declares his own intention, and he points out the danger and means of defence. The people muſt enable him to act with vigour, and his ſervants, who ſhall be intruſted with the ſupplies, muſt not divert them to objects of another nature. For,

ſhould the money raiſed for the ſuccour and preſervation of America, be drawn out of the Exchequer for keeping up a faction of placemen and penſioners at home; for paying ſubſidies to petty German Princes abroad; for maintaining a vaſt army of foreigners; for their importation into Britain; for encampments at home, and for parades of carriages to Cobham, whoſe horſe-hire alone may be moderately computed at fifty thouſand pounds; or for the equipment of fleets, to lie idle, while our enemies took our fortreſſes, interrupted our trade, and our navigation and commerce were reduced to the laſt diſtreſs for want of convoy; this nation muſt be undone. Our King informs us, that the ſervice in America demands activity and integrity in his miniſtry, as well as reſolutions of vigour and diſpatch in his parliament, to vindicate the dignity of his crown, which has been lately diſhonoured by the ill conduct of ignorant or negligent ſervants.

How amiable is a Prince, diveſted of all intereſt diſtinct from that of his people! what luſtre reflects from a crown, when Majeſty is not deprived of the opportunity, nor diſcouraged from declaring, that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as that no ground of diſſatisfaction may remain in his people! How manifeſt does it appear, that Majeſty was laid under a reſtraint; and that his wiſdom in the providing an adequate and firm defence for this kingdom, was not permitted to exert itſelf; when he takes the

firſt opportunity of recommending to his parliament the framing a national militia, as one good reſource in caſe of general danger; notwithſtanding the unwearied labour, and the many baſe inſinuations with which the FACTION, that lately ſurrounded the throne, endeavoured to diſſuade him from truſting his perſon and kingdom to the courage and fidelity of his ſubjects. And as there can be no doubt of its utility and neceſſity, which is ſo cordially and ſtrenuouſly recommended from the throne; and ſo generally requeſted by the nation, in all their addreſſes to the King himſelf, and inſtructions to their repreſentatives; it can never be ſurmiſed, that any part of the legiſlature ſhall again be ſpirited up, under falſe repreſentations, to reject a bill for a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the juſt rights of the crown and people.

WHEN Majeſty has pointed out an effectual and conſtitutional means of defence, who will pretend to ridicule ſuch a ſyſtem of military force? and I may venture to prognoſticate, that if it ſhould this ſeſſion be approved of and paſſed by the whole legiſlature, ſuch an additional ſtrength to our conſtitution will become one of the greateſt bleſſings; becauſe one of the greateſt ſecurities to this kingdom: and will ſo diſtinguiſh this reign and this parliament, as to render them both dear to the lateſt poſterity. Becauſe the intrigues, which deprived us of ſuch a national force, have given us a fatal opportu-

nity, by a ſeries of bad events, to know, that if the militia bill, with all its imperfections, had taken place laſt ſeſſion, the interior defence of this kingdom would not have remained at this hour in a problematical light; and the crown would have learnt from our actions, and not from our words alone, how far a militia is a real or an imaginary ſecurity. And moreover, it has never been denied, that the want of this adequate ſecurity at home is one of the cauſes of that inferiority, with which we have appeared, and of that diſgrace, which we have experienced upon almoſt every ſtation, where the Britiſh nation once acted with ſuperiority and dignity.

THE unnatural union of the councils of France and Auſtria, to deſtroy the Germannic conſtitution, and to extirpate the Proteſtant intereſt on the continent, are events, which muſt ſenſibly affect the minds of this nation: and no doubt require our attention and aid. But, as the enemy has cut us out work at home, the part we take in this new and dangerous criſis, ought to be *cautious*, *explicit*, and *Britiſh*; ſo that, in the general danger of Europe, we always make *our own* danger, our *firſt* care, and then we need be under no manner of apprehenſions either of want of neceſſary ſupplies of men or money, to enable our Sovereign to perform ſuch engagements, which he ſhall enter into by the advice of his parliament, and to compel the enemy to ſue for peace, and give ſecurity for his future good intentions.

IF,

If, on the contrary, the miniſtry ſhould reſume the modern ſyſtem of prefering the affairs and intereſt of the continent, to the natural defence of our own dominions: if they drop the opportunity, which that very unnatural union of Vienna with our natural enemy has given them, to extricate themſelves from the vaſt expence and fathomleſs negotiations, which have been carried on, under the appearance of forming and maintaining a grand alliance for the reſiſtance of France, and the ſupport of the ballance of power: if they wrack their brains, and exhauſt their ſpirits, to find out ways and means to mortgage their own country for the preſervation of Germany, while our own dominions are expoſed to fire and ſword: if they ſquander away the national treaſure in coining new penſions, and in paying ſuch as have grown upon the iniquity of late times: if they put their truſt in, and depend upon the aid of thoſe excreſcences of a corrupt miniſtry, whoſe weakneſs recommends them to ſtate jugglers, and who have neither ſtrength nor warmth any longer than they are ſupplied from the Treaſury: or if they confide in a fleet, whoſe officers are tame, ignorant, or treacherous, or whoſe ſhips are unfit for ſervice, or badly appointed; or in an army, which already abounds with Swiſs and Germans; though it is againſt the act of ſettlement to admit a foreign officer upon the Britiſh eſtabliſhment; they will find themſelves ſadly embarraſſed. The people will never ſubmit to a

repetition of thoſe meaſures, which have brought them from a rampant to a couchant lion: and as our gracious Sovereign has aſſured them that he had nothing ſo much at heart as that no ground of diſſatisfaction may remain in them, and that he relies with pleaſure on the ſpirit and zeal of his people for the defence of his perſon and realm, they will expect and inſiſt upon a right application of their money, an adequate and firm defence of their own property, and a ſecurity for their liberties. Or, if I may be allowed to imitate the words of the Houſe of Commons in their addreſs, "It was "the firſt glory of Britiſh Princes, in times "paſt, to found the ſtrength of their govern-"ment in the contentment and harmony of "their ſubjects. *Thus united* and *thus animated*, "the good people of England will chearfully "ſupport his Majeſty through all difficulties, "and vindicate, to the utmoſt, the dignity of "his crown, and its indubitable rights againſt "the ancient enemy of theſe kingdoms."

It was never known that a Britiſh Monarch, who endeavoured to gain the confidence of his ſubjects, was deceived in his expectations of being revered at home, and enabled to ſupport that weight and conſideration in Europe, which belong to a King of a powerful, free, and independent nation: but it is the little regard ſome Princes have had to their promiſes, which made ſo little regard be paid to them: and ſearch the annals of all ſtates, and it will be found that

it

it is generally from thoſe, with whom they have contemptuouſly broken their faith, that Princes have met with the greateſt oppoſition and miſchief.

How different is our preſent ſituation? The people were diſſatisfied with the conduct of the miniſtry; his Majeſty has in a great meaſure removed that cauſe of complaint. They implored juſtice on the cauſe of their misfortunes and loſſes, his Majeſty has promiſed his citizens of *London*, and in them all his ſubjects, that "he will not fail to do juſtice upon any perſons "who ſhall have been wanting in their duty." They petitioned for a national militia, and the ſpeedy exportation of foreign forces out of this kingdom: his Majeſty has recommended the former to his parliament, and, as a ſeal of his royal faith, he had previouſly given orders for the return of his electoral troops to his German dominions. A body of brave men, whoſe ſituation, as well as that of the Heſſians in this iſland, I cannot mention without the moſt ſincere affliction. But to whom is it owing? Is not their periſhing encampment in the rigorous ſeaſon of *October*, *November*, and *December*, another ſpecimen of the abilities of thoſe gentlemen, who called them over, without making a legal proviſion for their winter quarters? Could it be expected that our innholders and victuallers, who are already eat up with exciſe-duties, and the continual quarters of a ſtanding army, would voluntarily complete their own ruin, by opening

their houſes to an army of foreigners, whom they eyed with jealouſy, and envied for eating the bread of a ſervice, which more naturally belonged to the natives of this kingdom?

How far the advocates of this meaſure may be allowed to plead for the integrity of their intentions, who adviſed their importation: or how far their arrival may have brought a temporary ſtrength and ſecurity to this nation, is not the ſubject of this paper: but if we may be allowed to judge from the general diſſatisfaction, which increaſed with their continuance; I preſume his Majeſty, upon occurrences, which have ariſen from himſelf, and from the goodneſs of his heart, reſolved upon their return; being fully convinced, that the ſtability of his throne, and the ſtrength of his ſceptre, depend upon the ſpirit and zeal of his Britiſh ſubjects.

SUCH a rare inſtance of royal condeſcention gives us the greateſt reaſon to expect, that no intrigues will be countenanced, no perſon ſkreened, no lights ſhut up, to obſtruct national juſtice, when an enquiry into thoſe ſad events, which have ſo fatally ſunk the Britiſh name, and the Britiſh genius, ſhall take place; when the Houſe of Commons ſhall take the conduct of the war in the Mediterranean and America into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and enquire into thoſe ſtrong preſumptions of fouleſt deeds towards the *remains of a nation*, expiring under all the effects, which *neglect*, *ignorance*, and *injuſtice* could accumulate. Could it be thought that

that this act of juſtice would be denied, oppoſed, or interrupted by a faction before a tribunal, which *imputes no blame to any, unheard*; before judges who are diveſted of every impulſe of reſentment and favour; it would then be time to ſay, *actum eſt de Britannis*, there is an end of Britiſh liberty: for in our preſent circumſtances, when ruin has been not only permitted, but brought to our gates by ſomebody; a perfect enquiry and national juſtice muſt be the corner-ſtone of that foundation, from whence we may build a tower of ſtrength and glory to hold and preſerve both King and people.

Z.

No. 73. SATURDAY, *December* 18, 1756.

Magnus ab intergo ſæclorum naſcitur ordo.
Jam redit & virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna:
Et nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.

VIRG.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT ſeems to be a pretty general apprehenſion, that we are at the eve of ſome great event: whether it be ſuch, as through a total corruption of manners and political principles, ſhall bury the crown and liberties of Great Britain in entire ruin;

ruin; or, by exertions of public ſpirit, long ſmothered, vindicate both, and ſettle them upon more firm and laſting foundations, is the important doubt and alternative. Which of theſe it will be, only the Great Searcher of Spirits and Diſpoſer of all events can now determine with certainty: but while it continues a doubt, it becomes every honeſt man, who wiſhes well to the community, according to his abilities and ſtation in it, to awaken, call out, encourage, and diſpoſe what virtue is left in the nation, if haply there may be ſufficient found to ſave it; at leaſt ſufficient found to dignify our fall, and preſerve the memory of England from ſtinking to future ages in the annals that ſhall be delivered of us.

To be always finding fault and complaining of the times, betrays more melancholy than penetration, or more ill-nature than good ſenſe: and while it is only the indulgence of ſpleen and ill-humour ſhould be laughed at, or puniſhed: as the Thebans ſeverely fined all poets and painters, who drew men worſe than they were. Yet to draw them as they are, as it is never injurious, ſo in ſuch critical ſeaſons, when we hope ſome good may be effected, humanity will deign to guide the pencil, and generoſity approve the deſign.

I PRETEND not to ſay, which have behaved worſe, the governors or governed; they appear to me but the ſame men viewed in different lights: corruption worked at the core of both, and

and influenced each to act diſorderly, according to their reſpective ſtations and opportunities. As I diſdain to aim at particular men, ſo neither does it ſuit the deſign of this letter to point out particular facts. Our quarrel ſhould be with vice and folly, not with men; with their principles rather than the caſual and accidental operations of them.

It has been the general defect of Engliſh politicians to proceed without a plan; ignorant trowel-men in the ſervice of the ſtate, who work by the day: as well might we expect to ſee a ſtately and regular edifice riſe under the hands of day-labourers without any previous deſign, and an adjuſtment of parts, offices, and proportion, as a ſtate to flouriſh under a miniſtry, which ſtudies only for EXPEDIENTS, how to put off for the preſent thoſe difficulties, in which their want of foreſight had involved them. It is poſſible that the awkward building may keep out rain and wind for a time; but the junctures are ſo bungling, that the ſtorm muſt ſoon burſt in, and in the mean time there will be no conveniencies for the enjoyment of life, no beauty or dignity in the ſtructure to procure reſpect. To continue himſelf in power, to find plunder for his mercenaries, and to put off the evil day, has been for a long time the whole ſyſtem of an Engliſh Primier.

In ſuch hands, how muſt our proſpect ſtand with regard to foreign ſtates? an ingenious French writer compares the diſputes for empire

to

to a game at play, " In this tragical and bloody " game, he obſerves, he that has forecaſt at the " greateſt diſtance, that has moſt applied him- " ſelf, that has continued longeſt in the moſt " difficult labours, in a word he that has the " greateſt ſkill, either in puſhing on, or in im- " proving a begun encounter, at laſt has had " the advantage, and has made even Fortune " herſelf aſſiſting to his deſign." If ſo, what have the veering, claſhing, temporary projects of our councils to expect, when engaged againſt the deep laid uniformly ſupported deſigns of our enemies? there not only the ſame miniſter ſteadily purſues ONE *grand point*, which we ſee every year advancing; but when the miniſter is changed, or, as mortal, dies, the ſame ſyſtem, as immortal as truth, is continued by his ſucceſſors. Meaſures with them, as well as with us, may alter; nay, in different conjunctures they muſt: but ſtill trade, and univerſal empire, is the unvariable purſuit.

AT home the proſpect is, if poſſible worſe: our miſconduct muſt ruin us, though we had no foreign foes to forward it. I am at a loſs for a compariſon to ſet it clearly in view. I would ſay, it is like that of a thoughtleſs ſpend-thrift, who blindly mortgages his eſtate for the ſpeedier getting rid of a preſent embarraſs, and inſtead of forecaſt and frugality to leſſen the encumbrance, wantonly plunges deeper and deeper, for the ſake of a preſent ſum to ſquander away: let poſterity extricate themſelves as they can.

can.—But this, alas! is no compariſon; it is ſtrictly the truth.

My meaning is not to tax this or that miniſter with ſhort ſightedneſs, and inconſtancy in their politics: it is perhaps more the character of an Engliſhman in general, than of any particular perſon. Such miniſters are the common growth of the ſoil; whatever may be the cauſe of it. We might in ſome meaſure account for it, if an obſervation with reſpect to Ægypt is ſufficiently juſt, *that the temperature of the country, being always uniform, made their judgments more ſolid and conſtant.* As far as this, with truth, covers the perſons or characters of any from reſentment, it is what in juſtice to them ſhould be mentioned; and for a ſtill nobler end, to direct the thoughts of able men how to guard againſt the inconvenience.

After the defect of working without a plan, (by which I mean not acting without any deſign at all; for private, ſelfiſh views they all had; but acting *without a general plan for the public*) I muſt mention the meaſures taken in purſuit of their little ſhort ſighted ends. Theſe have been uſually ſhaped according to the propenſities of the Princes, under which they ſerved; but their aim has been conſtantly, as before mentioned, to keep themſelves in power, and to provide plunder for their mercenaries.

To effect this, the exploding all virtuous and religious principles, the encouragement of ſelfiſh ones, debaucheries, expences, and diſſipations

of

of time, to make men profligate, neceſſitous, dependant, and blind to futurity, has been their infamous, and too ſucceſsful ſtudy. This ripens us for Divine judgments, and not only expoſes us to ruin; but, what is the ſeverity of the ſtroke, renders us deſerving of it. Such were the maxims, of late, publickly avowed; that allegiance binds no further than conſiſts with private intereſt; that every one is to take care of himſelf firſt; that every one is qualified for any office he can get; that all men have their price, and many others of a like tendency. Here charity itſelf will not ſuffer me to palliate, nor throw a vail over individuals; for lenity in this caſe is public injury. Such men, wherever they are known, may, for me, be expoſed to all the contempt they deſerve; and the rather, as ſuch contempt, the more general it is, will be the moſt effectual cure to the diſtemper itſelf.

FORGIVE me then, if a warm indignation riſes in my breaſt againſt that meaneſt and moſt ſordid of all vices that legiſlators can be guilty of, I mean the vice of *Gaming*. Of this the people have a right to complain; for they are deeply intereſted in it. The loſer may, in ſome meaſure, repair his fortune, by a penſion or a place: but the public welfare is the great wager at ſtake, and is certainly loſt, whoever is the winner. Their time and ſervice are due to their country from the ſtations they enjoy in it. And if they trifle them and their fortunes away at cards and dice, we have cauſe to reſent the

in-

injuſtice done us; to withhold that honour, of which they are no longer worthy, and bid them quit their ſeats in parliament, or the gaming tables. Let them conſider the debt of honour which they owe the public, and anſwer the demands that their Prince's ſummons, or their country's choice have upon them:

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

If they are ſo deep in *Hoyle*, that they have forgot their Latin, the plain Engliſh of the line is, *Whatever Lords and Commons madly loſe at Gaming, the People are ſure to be fleeced for it.*

If the one plead their birth and deſcent from anceſtors, who earned their honours by ſervices done their country; we urge it back upon them, and aſk, Why they blot the eſcutcheons of their anceſtors, by abuſing the opportunities derived to them in ſuch a diſhonourable diſſipation of time? The virtues and merits of their progenitors reflect the reverſe of honour upon their degenerate heirs. They corrupt their blood and cancel their own patents: it is abſurd to call a ſharper, *Noble*; or a pick-pocket, *Right Honourable*. The more uſeful chariot indeed may ſtill bear the coronet, and its inſignificant maſter continue the title; but if it be ſo generally diſgraced, what will that be, but a title of contempt?

If the ſenator pleads his right from the choice of his conſtituents, to whom he paid a valuable conſideration for his ſeat; as far as his venal con-

conſtituents only, who were baſe enough to ſell themſelves, are concerned, I admit his plea: but ſhall their country confirm the ſale, and ſubmit themſelves to be paſſed away by the infamous bargain?—Yes, ſuch is the conſtitution!—What! are bribery and corruption according to the conſtitution? They have paſſed many laws againſt them, and if not ſo effectual yet, as may be wiſhed; what if their greatly injured and endangered country proceed one ſtep farther, and inſiſt upon a law, That every borough or corporation, convicted of ſelling their votes, ſhould loſe their privilege of election for ever; of which they have made ſo unworthy and unconſtitutional an uſe?

If, after all, the habit and itch of gaming be too ſtrong in any to be conquered; that avarice may have no ſmall influence, even indulge them to play the main of Lydus and Tyrrhenus, and let the loſer lead off a colony, at his own expence, of ſo many emigrants as ſhall be wagered, to cultivate new lands in America; which in honour of their mother country, and of the place where the deciſive lot was caſt, may be called ALBION *.

It may be feared by ſome, that had we a ſenſible and upright miniſtry, which diſcountenanced corruption, and diſdained to be ſupported by it, faction would preſently villify and interrupt their meaſures. If men continue as they

* Alluding to the name of WHITE's chocolate-houſe.

are, this would probably be the caſe. But there are methods which, if uſed, would give them a new turn. The ſetting an example of noble and generous principles, encouraging it wherever it appears, aboliſhing gaming, reſtraining private expences, and encreaſing public magnificence; adopting the policy of Ægypt, which permitted no one to be unprofitable to the ſtate, honoured all profeſſions, and eſteemed even the meaneſt trader, while their labours were ſerviceable to the public, diſgracing and puniſhing all uſeleſs members; this would change the mode and faſhion, and gain it over on the ſide of virtue; a point not to be deſpaired of; for we have ſeen it already ſtrong enough to introduce a very commendable ſpirit of charity among the ballances of profit and loſs, and even honour among gameſters.

If virtue, public ſpirit, and frugality can be reſtored among us, England may yet be ſafe, and triumph over the perfidy of France, and the ingratitude of Hungary; then the auſpicious lines, which as a good omen, I have prefixed to this paper, will be a prophecy of the happy times now in iſſue: if there is no care in the change of men taken in behalf of the people, that is to ſay, in what manner their liberty and property are to be tranſmitted to poſterity: if after a ſeries of barefaced corruption for more than thirty years, the ſtruggle ſhould continue ſtill the ſame, who ſhall get into the lucrative places and penſions, and ſuck out the almoſt

exhauſted vitals of our expiring ſtate for their own private emolument: if luxury and beggary are ſtill to be the ſupporters of the adminiſtration, and the public treaſure be applied to fill the houſe with men of no property, nor any other quality than abſolute obedience to the miniſterial mandate: if every tax continues to be anticipated; and Jewiſh ſtock-jobbers, monopolies, and the iniquitous practice of paying the bank three *per cent.* for circulating the land-tax, collected within the year, in their exchequer bills, be permitted to continue; if the modern doctrine of ſelling votes and boroughs, adopted by the avaricious, vicious, and neceſſitous, and countenanced by thoſe whoſe power has been maintained by corruption, ſhall not be remedied, but countenanced; or, in a word, if we perſevere in our extravagance and venality,—it is over with us.

Venit ſumma dies, & ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniæ. Fuimus Troës, fuit Ilium & ingens
Gloria Teucrorum.

—— Our day is come;
Nor fleets, nor armies can reverſe the doom.
Once England was, the Engliſh once were men:
But Creſſi's laurels ne'er ſhall ſhoot again.

No. 74. SATURDAY, *December* 25, 1756.

—— Non, ſi male nunc, & olim
Sic erit. Quondam citharæ tacentem
Suſcitat muſam: neque ſemper arcum
Tendit Apollo. Hor.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

NOTHING is more natural to a people, upon the change of a miniſtry, which for many years has been grievouſly guilty, but in vain complained of, than to hope for better times. A change of men is juſt nothing to the purpoſe without a change of meaſures; it being indifferent to the nation, whether it be undone by Philip or Bartholomew. But have we reaſon to flatter ourſelves, that this happy Æra is at hand? I humbly hope, we have; when I conſider how many able and public-ſpirited men have declared themſelves ready to ſupport our new miniſter; and when he himſelf has openly avowed, that he deſires to keep his poſt no longer, than he ſhall be found to act up to national principles.

THIS is a language and declaration, which Britiſh ears have not for many years been uſed

to, and this ſurely is fitted to raiſe the fainting ſpirits of the nation: in one thing nevertheleſs, Sir, it may not be improper to adviſe your readers; and that is, to be not too haſty in their expectations, or raiſe them too high; for be our new miniſters, as faithful, able, and diligent, as we can wiſh; what a weight have they taken upon their ſhoulders? conſider how much is to be undone, before much good can be effected; and that the body politic, like the natural one, where the diſtemper is chronical, as ours is, muſt be recovered, if at all, by gradual and gentle ſteps.

THIS nation, as moſt know, and all feel, has been waſting and ſinking in its ſtrength and credit, to a prodigious degree, for the laſt forty years; I need not expoſe or aggravate the cauſes of it; it having been copiouſly and diſtinctly done in the courſe of your papers. One uſe nevertheleſs may be made of the miſconduct of our former rulers; and that is, to ſhun the rocks, againſt which they have daſhed the honour and intereſt of the nation; and to ſtrike out ſome new ſyſtem of policy, ſince ſad experience has taught us, that the old one was every day accelerating our fate. Should it be aſked, What peculiar reaſons have we to hope better things from the new occupants of power, than we found in the old ones? I will not give the anſwer of flattery: for what is flattery, but a lie gilded and perfumed? but ſuch an anſwer, as candour and juſtice dictate. As to their abilities, their

their very enemies confeſs it: as to the purity of their intentions, preſumption is clearly in their favour; when they made a ſacrifice of the beſt poſts in the government rather than concur in the ſubſidy-plan; which they clearly ſaw, could not anſwer the preſent exigencies of the ſtate; and in a little time would ſo enhance the public debt, as muſt abſolutely ruin our trade and commerce; it being already ſo loaded, that our enemy by underſelling us at foreign markets, has run away with many branches of it, and is every year breaking into and diminiſhing others. And ſhould our trade and commerce be once gone, it will not only be impoſſible for us ever to diſcharge the public debt, but we ſhall be diſabled from paying even its intereſt: and what a dreadful thought is this? how many thouſands (natives as well as foreigners) who have ventured their fortunes upon our public credit, muſt be abſolutely ruined! nor could we in that caſe mann our ſhips of war; or pay them, if we could; and then our maritime glory and ſtrength are ſunk, and we are no longer an independant people.

These conſiderations ſo weighed down, in our preſent ſuppoſed miniſter, all perſonal lucrative views, that he broke looſe from that noble perſonage, whom he could no longer act with, without apparent ruin to his country; and this ſelf-denying ſtep ſo ſoftened the prejudice, which ſome had contracted for his having acted with him at all, as opened the way to

their new maſter with irreſiſtible fury; and therefore I would not cenſure a miniſter, who probably may do, what he prudently can at once; though not all, he or we could wiſh. One thing however it may not be unſeaſonable to hint; and that is, if a miniſter cannot get rid of every fool or knave, let him diſplace as many as he can; and let thoſe that are retained be of the leaſt noxious ſort; and whilſt they are retained, let their actions be narrowly watched; that through a principle of fear they may be honeſt to the public: for among our innumerable grievances this ſtands at the head; the robbing the public under the maſk of perquiſites; as well as more apparent frauds: and I firmly believe, that if the many national impoſitions from miniſters and their minions; from dealers and contractors with the public for thirty years paſt; could be fully brought to light, they would, all put together, ſolve the augmented debt of the nation, within that period.

THIS matter ſurely deſerves the attention of a wiſe and honeſt miniſter: and ſhould he not, to the utmoſt of his power, ſearch this malady to the bottom, and cure it, as far as he can, he will find the wheels of government drag heavily; and all the policy in the world without it, will not come up to the hope and expectation of the nation: nor enable him to carry on this great and neceſſary war without ſuch an additional weight upon the people, that they cannot bear.

In

In ſhort, our whole dependance is upon a coalition of able and worthy patriots; from ſuch we have every thing to hope: and ſurely it is ſome comfort to be delivered from that terrible ſituation, where we had more to fear from a miniſter, than from the enemy.

THERE are, I am ſenſible, who cenſure the great ferment, which our late misfortunes have raiſed in the paſſions of the nation; and for this reaſon, I preſume, becauſe it has produced the change they dreaded: but pray; who are theſe? *why?* perſons who have loſt, or are in pain for, their profits and power: or elſe ſuch as are diſappointed: and as *ſelf* is at the bottom of ſuch cenſures and complaints, wiſe men, we flatter ourſelves, will laugh at and deſpiſe them. What? would you have a brave and independant people tamely ſubmit to be undone by a handful of men, with a Leviathan at their head, who by baſe arts had uſurped, and by bribery, the vileſt ſpecies of it, the abuſe of their own money, ſupported a power to direct the great affairs of this kingdom? The Britiſh lion has been chained long enough, and had he not roared ſo loud, as to make his voice heard through every corner of the nation; had he not indignant broke looſe at laſt, and turned upon his keeper, who had ignominiouſly chained him down, our deſtruction could not have been far off: and whether he has not recovered his liberty too late to revenge our cauſe, and protect our rights, futurity alone can tell.

AMONG

AMONG the many evils, which have diſgraced our adminiſtrations for more than thirty years paſt, the greateſt of all has been the boundleſs prodigality of the public money, which it will take an age of oeconomy to replace; a peace of twenty years, to the eternal infamy of one miniſter, paid off juſt nothing of the public debt: and how the money was ſquandered, no man need be told: the loan appropriated to that uſe, which ought to have been ſacred, was diverted into other channels, even by that very man, who valued himſelf upon the project; and the *nobile par fratrum*, who co-operated with, and ſucceeded him in power, ſupported their adminiſtration upon the ſame ruinous plan. Hence we lie under great difficulties to raiſe money to carry on the preſent war; and carried on it muſt be, or an inglorious and treacherous peace muſt enſue; and in that caſe our ruin will be certain, though it be a little deferred.

THAT money is to be had, is out of all queſtion; but how to come at it, without further loading our trade, and exports, which have already ſuffered extremely from our weight of taxes; and which have enabled our enemy to ſupplant us in many branches of our foreign commerce, is not eaſy to ſay:—for, ſuppoſe a ſyſtem of frugality be adopted (which is abſolutely neceſſary;) it cannot anſwer our immediate wants, becauſe it cannot operate to any conſiderable effect, but by length of time; ſuch a meaſure nevertheleſs will be a ground of

con-

confidence, and no doubt facilitate the raiſing of the preſent ſupplies: and if the new taxes are laid in the eaſieſt and moſt equal manner; if they are made temporary, not eternal, in the way of our late borrowing and funding, the prudent part of the nation will not murmur and rebel againſt the hand, that immediately impoſes the weight, but look back to, and curſe the improvidence and extravagance of thoſe, who in time of peace, made no proviſion or ſavings to ſupport a war, which has laid our new miniſtry under ſuch diſadvantages, that there is little cauſe to envy their ſituation: for how delightful ſoever power may be in calm and peaceable times, it is not very pleaſing to ſit at the helm in dark and tempeſtuous weather.

Amidſt ſuch a perplexed ſtate of our affairs, would it not be unreaſonable to expect more from our rulers than the nature and circumſtances of things will admit? let them but act like men of wiſdom and integrity, and agreeable to the principles they have openly avowed, and they diſcharge their duty. Events lie in a higher hand; and although in a view of ſecond cauſes our condition looks ſo ill; I hope we are not arrived to that pitch of degeneracy, that Heaven has caſt us off. Yet ſuch has been the fate of nations, as all hiſtory atteſts: ſuch aſſuredly will one day be our fate, if we perſevere in that ſyſtem of corruption and prodigality; without which, it has been impudently aſſerted, it is impoſſible to govern this nation.

When

WHEN Demoſthenes poured forth thoſe torrents of eloquence and patriotiſm, which have immortalized his name; he could not ſave the liberty and independency of his country: the Macedonian money had ſo corrupted Athens, that the few good men left had not ſtrength to withſtand the betrayers, and ſellers of the republic: and was not the caſe of Rome ſimilar, when Cicero, his rival, delivered his noble Philippicks before the Roman ſenate? after Cæſar's fall, there ſhot forth a little ray of hope, that the republic might riſe again, but it vaniſhed ſoon. The ſenate, which he had packed and bribed to abet and ſupport his uſurpation, lay open to new adventurers: and thus that illuſtrious republic, which had ſtood the ſhock of ages, tumbled to the ground. No man, who knows any thing of the hiſtory of thoſe times will ſay; there were no honeſt republicans left in either of thoſe ſtates; but the miſery was, their number was too ſmall to bear up againſt the tide of venality and luxury. Virtue had raiſed thoſe two ſtates to the higheſt pitch of glory and proſperity; vice ſunk them into nothing.

How near our condition was approaching to this, I will not preſume to ſay; but ſhould we now be deceived, as heretofore, by *pretended* PATRIOTS, I am firmly of opinion, that we have little reaſon to expect another chance for redeeming the liberty, the glory, and proſperity of our country. I am, SIR,

Your humble ſervant,

D. TIMOTHY HOPE.

No. 75. SATURDAY, *January* 1, 1757.

——— *Populus me ſibilat : at mihi plaudo*
Ipſe domi, ſimul ac nummos contemplor in arca.
HOR.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IN the catalogue of Lords Chancellors, we in England have had a great variety of characters: ſome of them have been the tools of a tyrant to ſqueeze the ſubject: others have been ſo artful, as to reduce both King and people to a ſtate of inſenſibility; while they fed their own ambition with the favour of the crown, and their avarice with the moſt iniquitous diſpoſal of preferments and places.

BUT it is very remarkable, that few of either ſort eſcaped the puniſhment due to traitors or public robbers. Our Norman Kings found the way to ſqueeze their agents of oppreſſion, when their iniquity ran over: and a Woolſey, a Bacon, a Jefferies, *&c.* ought to have deterred poſterity from proſtituting their power, and the favour of their Prince to the mean object of building up a family from the dirt, or aggrandizing themſelves at the ſole expence of the public.

FOR,

For, to confine our attention to Woolſey alone; we are informed on good authority, that he is a remarkable example of ambition and avarice; theſe being the general actuating principles in men, who by ſome unaccountable turn of fortune are taken from the dregs of the people, placed near Majeſty, and are intruſted with the execution of power, and diſtribution of the royal favours.

This favourite of Fortune, having made his way to the heart of his Prince, by conforming himſelf entirely to his diſpoſition, and by great dexterity engaging the courtiers of leſs education and diſcernment, to yield to his conduct; he at laſt, ſecure in the *higheſt poſt of the law*, could not be ſatisfied till he had got the King himſelf into his own power; who, though inclined to deſpotiſm, gave every place, both in church and ſtate, to the diſpoſal of the man, that adminiſtered to his peculiar foibles. So that from the time of his gaining the aſcendant, this miniſter or *chancellor*, who muſt be allowed to have had good natural and ſome acquired abilities, became a ſlave to his own ambition and avarice; to gratify which he made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the glory of his Sovereign, and the welfare of the nation.

His riches multiplied with his power; and whilſt the wealth of the kingdom flowed into his coffers, the moſt illuſtrious of the nobility found no acceſs to the throne, except they would dignify his levees with their attendance, and

and enter into the number of his domeſticks, to qualify themſelves for a place at court. And, not content with the management of the national affairs at home, he uſurped the ſole direction of them abroad; which he conducted with little judgment, leſs fidelity, and always with ſome view towards an extenſion of his own glory, and his own wealth.

HOWEVER, though his *Ego & Rex meus*, i. e. *I and my King*, is a language too harſh for modern ears, it is alledged in his behalf, that he did not ſo far inſult and deſpiſe the royal authority, as never to permit his Sovereign to think for himſelf, and now and then to chuſe his own ſervants: nor was he ſo weak or wicked to adviſe the importation of foreign mercenaries for the defence of England, when the French began to hector and grow inſolent; but perſuaded King Henry to attack that perfidious enemy in their own dominions with a large body of Britiſh forces.

HE cannot be excuſed for the illicit means by which he amaſſed ſo immenſe a fortune: but no body has ſuggeſted, that all this dirty work was undertaken to gratify a *rapacious wife*, to aggrandize his children, or to ennoble his beggarly relations; for, his eccleſiaſtical ſtate obliged him to celibacy; and though he might have relations as mean, and as aſpiring to riches, grandeur, and power, as any Lord created by the intereſt of a Chancellor ſince thoſe days, Woolſey was ſo far from injuring the

the nation, and diſgracing the crown, by advancing them to poſts, which they were not capable of filling with applauſe, or loading their heads with a coronet, to the diſgrace of nobility, that he left them all in their original obſcurity. Though he had but little virtue under his ſcarlet robes, he encouraged the practice of it in others, and at leaſt kept up the appearances of a religious intention, expending the greateſt part of his riches (however acquired) in the foundation of two ſeminaries, which remain the nobleſt monuments of piety and learning in this kingdom, and not to be equalled in any other nation. Theſe ſpecimens of that Chancellor's reſtitution of the vaſt fortune he had acquired by an uncontrouled liberty to govern all, and under colour of doing the King ſervice, might probably have been extended for the public good, had not a pack of hungry courtiers divided his wealth to their own uſe, when his oppreſſive councils obliged the King to devote him to the reſentment of the people; which extorted from him on his death-bed that memorable ſaying: "Had I ſerved my GOD as faithfully as my "King, he would not have forſaken me in my "old age." Theſe monuments of his public ſpirit and generoſity, though all his ill-got wealth was not reſtored to the people, whom he had plundered, record ſome valuable qualities. As he ſaw himſelf ſtripped of every thing, and none of his family had ſhared in the ſpoil of his mal-adminiſtration: as he did not triumph in his

his iniquities, nor brow-beat thoſe he had injured; but rather expreſſed the deepeſt contrition for the meaſures he had purſued, and with his expiring ſoul bemoaned the errors of his paſt conduct; there is ſome room for pity and compaſſion for his memory: though nothing can extenuate the crime, much leſs exculpate the miniſter, who miſapplies the public treaſure, miſguides his Sovereign, and makes the intereſt of his King and country ſubſervient to his own ambition and avarice.

WHAT then can be ſaid to apologize for Lord Grypus, who ſome time after ſucceeded that haughty prelate in his high ſtation? Grypus was of as mean and ignoble a parentage as Woolſey, and of much the ſame natural talents; but not being ſo well cultivated by a liberal education, he exceeded him infinitely in the low arts of ſelfiſhneſs and cunning; ſo that it may well be ſaid, There was as much difference between theſe two miniſters, as between a dirty petty-fogging attorney, and the honeſteſt and ableſt council.—Grypus reſembled the cardinal-chancellor in all his bad qualities; but was an utter ſtranger to his good ones.—He not only himſelf paid no regard to religion; but, as far as he could influence, he diſcouraged the practice of it in others: and his contempt for things ſacred appeared ſufficiently in the diſpoſal of thoſe e——l preferments, which were diſpoſed of by his power and influence.

THE church, during his adminiſtration was no better ſupplied than the ſtate: and as knowledge and integrity were not rigorouſly exacted of the miniſterial men; neither was the want of piety, learning, and hoſpitality any bar to the higheſt ſtations in the church; provided the candidate thoroughly entered into the iniquitous views of his patron, and engaged to purſue ſuch meaſures, as muſt infallibly betray the cauſe, both of their King, their country, and their God; or, it could not have been poſſible for him to expect their concurrence in the ſchemes he formed to impoſe upon their Sovereign, to deſtroy the liberties of the ſubject, and to pollute Chriſtianity by fornication and Judaiſm.

MONEY was the real and only object of his worſhip: therefore to ſay that Grypus was extremely avaricious would be too faint and languid: for, in truth, he might be called AVARICE itſelf, which had ſo poſſeſſed his ſoul that he was never known to do a common office of humanity to any creature living, except he ſaw a proſpect of reaping a greater advantage to himſelf: and the nether milſtone was not harder than his heart at the diſtreſſes of his fellow-creatures, when there was no proſpect of gain.

To gratify this predominant paſſion, it was neceſſary for him to graſp at the ſummit of power; which only could ſkreen him from public reſentment, while his worthy conſort lent him a helping hand to accumulate the glittering dirt out of every place, preferment, and other op-

opportunities without number, till it exceeded the enormous bulk of Woolſey's fortune.

An incident, which might have confined another to the druggery of a petty-fogger in ſome ſea-port, recommended Grypus to thoſe who had intereſt to ſupport his aſpirings. A corrupt ch——r was called to the bar to anſwer for malpractices: Grypus, whoſe office called him to proſecute the criminal, and who, in all probability was beſt able to expoſe the iniquity, got himſelf excuſed on the allegation of his own familiarity and cloſe connections with the public robber. However, this anſwered the ends of Grypus: who ſoon got into the ſaddle, from which his friend was unhorſed: and took upon himſelf immediately the importance of an eaſtern monarch.

Not content with a daily addition of houſe to houſe and field to field, and hoarding up the treaſures of Mexico and Peru: not content with providing, in the moſt ſplendid manner, for his *numerous offspring* by means, perhaps, not ſtrictly juſtifiable in a court of equity, and by heaping on them the moſt lucrative and honourable poſts, in prejudice to others of greater abilities: not content with the direction of the great council, and with an arbitrary diſpoſal of all places and penſions, Grypus grew wanton and inſolent, treated the ancient nobility with contempt, weakened their power by augmenting the peerage with men of his own ſtamp, and having deſtroyed all confidence between the King and

his ſubjects, by accuſing them of diſaffection, and by adviſing his Majeſty to diſarm them, and to overawe them by foreign mercenaries, he at laſt lorded it over his Sovereign: a Prince the reverſe of Woolſey's maſter; and yet ſo managed by Grypus as to remain beſieged, as it were, in his palace, inacceſſible to every one but this monſter of power and his hireling aſſociates; and to ſeem through their wicked inſinuations to turn a deaf ear to the filial and inceſſant cries of his oppreſſed and faithful people.

NOT content with precipitating the nation into the moſt ruinous meaſures, loading it with intollerable burthens, and conſuming the lives of thouſands in fruitleſs expeditions, he, to ſhew that he was capable of doing more miſchief than the worſt of tyrants, deviſed and enforced a ſcheme for cutting off any future ſupplies for our fleets and armies, he ſet himſelf in open defiance to the firſt law of GOD and NATURE, and enjoyed the exquiſite pleaſure of ſeeing the Britiſh race hourly dwindle away: villages, towns, and cities felt the effects of his ſelfiſh and barbarous politicks in the viſible diminution of their inhabitants; and Grypus ſeemed diſſatisfied only at the honeſty and courage of that able advocate, who learnedly confuted the arguments, and manfully deſpiſed the frowns, with which Grypus endeavoured to extend this deſtruction of Britiſh natives to Britons reſiding in foreign parts.

IT

IT would be doing injuſtice to the memory of the Cardinal-chancellor with all his bad qualities to compare him with Grypus: and it would have been a mark of great corruption or weakneſs in the government, had he been permitted to retire without diſgrace and confiſcation of the fruits of ſuch a ſordid, rapacious adminiſtration.

INSTEAD of foundations for the promoting of learning and piety, Grypus was determined to ſacrifice the laws, liberties, property, and religion not only of the preſent age, but of poſterity alſo to the aggrandizing of himſelf and family. How dextrouſly did he apply the rules of conſcience, which are in many caſes of larger extent than thoſe of the law, to ſerve a family turn? and how ſhamefully did he enhance the value of the ſeals, by accounting with all his ſubalterns for the fees of their reſpective offices? but in conferring ſpiritual benefits upon his creatures, who were remarkable neither for their piety, learning, chaſtity, nor hoſpitality; in ſoothing and abetting the paſſions of his Sovereign, and in opening his hand to receive gifts and penſions from every quarter, there perhaps could never be a more real counterpart of that wicked Chancellor.

IT is true, Grypus had ſo exaſperated the people and diſtreſſed the nation, that neither corruption nor policy was able to guard him againſt their rage? and with reluctance the miſer parted with the purſe and the mace. But was this a ſatisfaction adequate to his crimes? ſhould the law that ſeized upon Woolſey's wealth, permit Grypus to die undiſturbed in

poſſeſſion of his immenſe riches amaſſed by the like iniquitous practices? ſhould the royal exchequer be empty, and the coffers of Grypus continue full to the brim? Was it ever known that the evil counſellor, who had miſapplied the public revenue, and grew rich by the impoveriſhment of his country, was ſuffered to ſit down in the full enjoyment of the fruit of his corrupt practices, while the plundered nation mourned her loſſes occaſioned by his bad conduct or advice? ſhould ſuch a one be permitted to retire unqueſtioned and unpuniſhed in his ſumptuous palaces, while his Sovereign was afflicted for his ſtrong holds betrayed to the enemy, and his dominions expoſed to fire and ſword through his means? ſhould Grypus whirl through the crowd of widows, virgins, and orphans imprecating the vengeance of Heaven on his head glittering with a c-r-n-t, which diſtinguiſhed him from his original plebeian race, and not be called to anſwer for the diſgrace he had brought upon the Britiſh diadem? had ſuch a monſter of ambition and avarice attempted to conſole himſelf at home with the contemplation of a million of money amaſſed in the manner above-mentioned, and while the good people of England hiſſed at and curſed him, as he rolled along in his gilded chariot, dared to applaud his own ſagacity, and to defy the cenſure of the public; I cannot be perſuaded but that they would have exerted ſuch a juſt ſpirit of reſentment as their forefathers did, who puniſhed Woolſey, Bacon, and Macclesfield.

No. 76. SATURDAY, *January* 8, 1757.

While men ſlept, the enemy came and ſowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.

MATTHEW xiii. 25.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

I HAVE lately ſeen an addreſs to both houſes of parliament, appealing to the Lords and Commons, againſt the wiſdom of the throne. "His Majeſty by and with the advice and approbation of his privy council *recommends* to "the care and diligence of his parliament, the "framing a militia, with equal regard to the "juſt rights of his crown and people for their "defence in caſe of general danger, and that no "ground of diſſatisfaction may remain in his "people." *A ſcribler by profeſſion* claims an *equal* regard to his fuſtian or bombaſt, while under the amiable character of *impartiality* he endeavours to ſow tares among the good wheat, and to diſſuade the guardians of our conſtitution from hearkening to the recommendations of their Sovereign, and the inſtructions of their conſtituents; and makes a bold puſh, under the plauſible colour of a greater affection for

the houſe of Hanover, to embarraſs the royal mind in a matter of the utmoſt importance.

THE King *affirms* a national militia may in time become one good reſource in caſe of general danger. The ſcribler has the modeſty and vanity to ſay, that it is a *falſe* preſumption; and on the contrary, that it would *encourage an invaſion, render our power inſignificant, and ruin our trade.* A licentiouſneſs of ſpeech only to be found in the cabals of a deſperate faction! that faction which never ſerved their Prince but with an attempt to engroſs his power, nor their country without ſacrificing its confidence to their own ambition and avarice!

HOWEVER, to keep up ſome appearance of truth and loyalty; he would decry the inſtitution of a Britiſh militia, becauſe this iſland is not defended by mountains and narrow paſſes as Switzerland is known to be. Pray aſk him, whether he has ever ſeen the mountainous waves and the breadth of the ſeas, which defend the iſland of Great Britain on all ſides, and leave *no* paſs for an invader, was the ſhore covered by a well-planned and regulated militia? whether any port of the Britiſh coaſt can be expoſed to the batteries of a numerous train of heavy artillery with the ſame eaſe as the narrow paſſes of Switzerland? and the leaſt reflection, if his heart be open to convictions muſt inform him, that our gracious Sovereign never gave greater proof of his wiſdom, than when he declared, that a militia is to be reckoned *an adequate and firm*

firm at home, covered and ſupported by the naval power. So that by exhibiting the militia of Switzerland as an example worthy of imitation in the framing of our militia-bill, it could never be intended to draw any argument in favour of ſuch an imitation from a ſimilitude between the political ſyſtems of the two nations: but to ſhew that a militia planned and regulated in *ſuch a manner* would be no leſs, if not a much greater defence to this iſland, ſurrounded by the ocean, than to a country on the continent, however ſituated in the midſt of mountains and rivers.

His modeſty, candour, and ſagacity are as deficient in the pains he takes to ſtifle the remembrance of the martial ſpirit, which in former times did ſo great ſervice by the militia of this nation, and to prevent its reſtoration at a time of greateſt need; when the public ſafety muſt depend upon a powerful armed force, greater than the people are able to keep in conſtant pay. The ſecurity of the nation was in its militia: our Kings for a great many generations required no other force to ſupport the dignity of their crown. Theſe were the forces that chaſtiſed faction, rebellion, and the incurſions of the Scots at home, while another part of them eternized their bravery, conduct, and victory, by ſubduing their perfidious neighbours abroad. And I am ſorry to be provoked by ſuch a ſcribler to obſerve, that the loſs of all our dominions in France, is to be dated from the time our Kings truſted more to a hireling army of foreigners than

than to the pikes and ſwords of their well-regulated militia: that the terror of a French invaſion has kept pace with the increaſe of our mercenary army, and of the laws made to diſarm the people: and that the regular troops in Britiſh pay, for ſixty years paſt, have coſt the nation above one hundred and twenty millions, without adding one gem to the Britiſh diadem. War, which in former times, was begun through neceſſity, and conducted with expedition and frugality by a militia, has been reduced by the mercenary advocates into a ſyſtem, and formed into a trade or way of living upon the public ſtock. By which the manufacturers are deprived of many uſeful hands, and the induſtrious are burthened with exceſſive taxes to maintain a body of men, whoſe intereſt it is to foment quarrels, to keep them always in alarm, to protract hoſtilities, and to caſt the ballance of power into that part of the conſtitution, which ſhall appear moſt for their private intereſt to ſupport: and therefore I am quite of that writer's opinion, as to the irreconcileable incompatibility between a regular army and a regular militia: not becauſe of any impoſſibility, as he would inſinuate, to frame a national militia according to the modern diſcipline and art of war; but becauſe of the oppoſition which ſuch a conſtitutional force will always meet with from thoſe, whoſe power is to be ſupported by a ſtanding army. It is as natural for men, who depend upon their arms, to cry out againſt any plan that

that tends to the deſtruction of their livelihood; as it was for the ſilver-ſmiths to extol the great goddeſs Diana, when they found their trade was threatened by the aboliſhing of her worſhip. So that this very incompatibility is ſo far from being an objection to the plan of a well-regulated militia, that it enforces every argument that has hitherto been advanced in its favour: becauſe, as oppoſition, which this author declares, will always hinder their joint exiſtence in the ſame kingdom, ariſes not from the well-regulated militia, but from the regular army: and as the nation is not in a capacity to maintain a mercenary army at the vaſt expence above-mentioned, ſufficient to cover the extenſive ſhores of Great Britain from foreign foes: it is abſolutely neceſſary, at all events, to carry the plan of a well-regulated militia into execution with the utmoſt care and diligence: for otherwiſe we muſt be left expoſed to the malice of our enemies, or be reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to a military government.

As to the unnatural ſuggeſtion; that whenever there ſhould be a neceſſity for a regular army and a diſciplined militia to act in conjunction, there would be ſcarce a man in either that would not have a pleaſure in ſeeing the other beat; it is ſuch a ſcandalous reflection upon the gentlemen, who are paid for their ſervice, that I am ſatisfied they muſt diſdain the author thereof, and is ſo reverſe to the general character of Britiſh fidelity and courage, that none

none but a factious and daſtardly heart could have conceived ſuch an opinion of a regular militia formed out of the people of England.

But, why ſhould we wonder at any thing ſuch a ſcribler has advanced, who proceeds to ſtigmatize thoſe very people, whom his Majeſty in his great wiſdom is reſolved to gratify with a militia, as the beſt tye of their affections and loyalty, with an intention, when thus armed, to join the French for the ſake of revenging themſelves on the King's army; and to repair to the ſtandard of Charles Stuart and his deſcendants, ſhould they take it in their heads to viſit us. He even dares to affirm, upon his own knowledge, that as ſoon as the ſaid Stuart is informed that the militia is ready, he will actually land: and though his whole drift is to depreciate and perſuade the impoſſibility of planning and framing a militia ſufficient to withſtand mercenary troops, he all of a ſudden forgets himſelf, and promiſes the invader ſucceſs by the arms of the militia, though diſciplined only in *ſome degree:* thereby acknowledging that a well regulated national militia is the moſt powerful defence of a kingdom.

An imputation of this nature, among diſpaſſionate people, muſt diſcover a great want of argument in the oppoſition to a national militia. And both his pretenees of being in the councils of the enemies of Britain, and his reaſons for alarming the minds of the good people of England with ſuch treaſonable declarations,

rations, deſerve a ſtricter enquiry than is in the power of the MONITOR to make.

DID the Engliſh, at a time, when there were no laws to prevent their carrying arms; when the militia was the only ſtrength of the kingdom; and even under the worſt of Kings, ever deſert to the enemy? or did they ever make uſe of that privilege to dethrone a Prince, whom they had placed upon the throne; and who had nothing ſo much at heart, as that no ground of diſſatisfaction might remain in his people? have not the weak attempts to diſturb the peace of theſe realms ſince the revolution, convinced the beſt and moſt diſcerning ſubjects, and even the Sovereign himſelf, that there is nothing to be feared from the inſignificant numbers of thoſe given to change; and that the greateſt diſſatisfaction ariſes from the councils of thoſe, who have reduced the nation to the neceſſity of calling in foreign aid for that ſervice, which is to be beſt done only by themſelves?

NO Prince is ſo ſecure, as the Sovereign, who relies on the ſpirit and zeal of his people; and they who ſow jealouſies in his royal mind, and endeavour to foment an oppoſition in the great council of the nation, in order to prevent that natural and only effectual defence of his perſon and realm, are moſt to be ſuſpected of favouring the enemy.

FACTIOUS ſpirits are found in all ſtates. But a government, which acts up to the dignity of the crown, and for the intereſt of the ſubject, never

never had any thing to dread from their pufillanimity. Where a people are convinced that their liberty and property are ſecured by maintaining their civil eſtabliſhment, it has been often found that common intereſt and affection for their rulers have inſpired them with ſuch a zeal and firmneſs of mind, that no power could force them to deſert their cauſe. Of which we have two memorable examples in the laſt century: the United Provinces and the little kingdom of Portugal; each of which reſiſted the whole power of Spain by a militia only for more than forty years, and at laſt prevailed.

BUT it was never known that a people, who had reaſon to bemoan the loſs of their Sovereign's confidence: who perceived a total decay in the ſyſtem of their government: who diſcovered an intention to diſable them from appearing in the defence of their King and country: or, who found the royal authority abuſed by the ſervants of the crown in diſhonourable and dangerous meaſures, ever ſat down contented. As might be exemplified more than once in the annals of this iſland.

I SHALL therefore follow this factious ſcribler no further. But only obſerve, that the readieſt way to invite the French to invade us is to proceed in the expenſive meaſure of a ſtanding army, and the importation of ſubſidiary forces; for, if by theſe mercenaries, we could defend the iſland; the enemy in the end, by often repeating this ſcheme, would effectually weaken

us,

us, and by exhauſting our riches reduce us to a ſtate of ſlavery, either to our protectors or to our enemies. And the only ſure ground of ſucceſs in all attempts of the Stuarts is to ſow diſcontent among the people, by heavy taxes, by waſting the public treaſure; by neglecting merit, and paying no regard to their juſt complaints, by permitting the plunderers of the nation to retire unpuniſhed; by encouraging corruption in high places; by leaving our colonies expoſed to the enemy; by fretting them with penal laws; by encouraging parties, and keeping up diviſions, and particularly by treating them with contempt, or driving them to deſpair.

A PRIME miniſter, who cannot ſupport himſelf without a band of penſioners; a lord treaſurer, who dares miſapply the money granted by parliament; a lord of the admiralty who entruſts a boy of ſeventeen, or a foreigner with the command of his Majeſty's ſhips; who is negligent or ignorant in his office, and without judgment and juſtice increaſes the liſt of officers, to the great charge of the nation; a ſecretary at war, who is not capable of writing intelligible inſtructions: a chancellor, who is ſwayed by ambition and avarice; and a repreſentative of the people, who has ſo forgot his duty, and is ſo abandoned to ſhame as to upbraid them with diſloyalty, and diſaffection, in the midſt of the great council of the nation, for decently bewailing their misfortunes, and praying for the ſafety of the King and country: and a cabal who obſtruct the eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhment of a regular militia, are the moſt dangerous perſons in a ſtate, and to be the moſt ſuſpected of intrigues to favour attempts from France and Rome.

A.

No. 77. SATURDAY, *January* 15, 1757.

Rebus adhuc validis qui cavet, ille ſapit.
OVID. El.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

PARLIAMENTS are the true guardians of liberty. For this end they were originally inſtituted: and this is the principal article of that great and noble truſt, which the collective body of the people of Britain repoſes in their repreſentatives. The integrity of parliament is the palladium which protects our liberty; could that be once removed, there would be no need of an army to take our city: our liberty and property would fall an eaſy prey to the intrigues and paſſions of knaves and ſycophants: and no ſlavery can be ſo effectually brought and fixed upon us, as parliamentary ſlavery.

IF then we ſhould at any time be deprived of this bleſſing, who ſhall be blamed? can it be

be ſuppoſed that the people will betray themſelves? No. But many examples convince, that liberty may be loſt through our own fault, by the plain and neceſſary conſequences of our own conduct. The brave and the wiſe while they have remained upon their guard, and exerted themſelves in defence of their rights and privileges, always prevailed againſt ſycophants and bullies: but when they grew lukewarm, and careleſs of their liberty, when their ſtrength was enervated and their ſenſes drowned with ſloth, luxury, and corruption; they have reſigned themſelves to the direction of the enemies of the conſtitution: wanting ſenſe to diſcern their danger in time; or courage to reſiſt, when it ſtared them in the face.— A dreadful caſe! but as our conſtitution makes it impoſſible to deſtroy liberty by any ſudden blaſt of popular fury, or by the treachery of a few; it is our intereſt, as much as poſſible to prevent the firſt appearance of every attack upon our freedom.

PERMIT me to ſay, that the loſs of Minorca and Oſwego, nay, the ſo much dreaded, and almoſt expected, loſs of our ſettlements in North America, are but trifles in compariſon with the loſs of our liberties at home. They were, or are, indeed our moſt valuable poſſeſſions, but ſuch poſſeſſions (inſtead of being taken from us) might have increaſed to the graſping both the Indies; and yet, at the ſame time, ſlavery might have been the lot of this all-poſſeſſing iſland. It was ſaid by the mouth

of truth itſelf, *what ſhall it profit a man, if he ſhall gain the whole world and loſe his own ſoul.* The expreſſion is extremely juſt, and appoſite to our preſent purpoſe. The liberty of a nation is the ſoul of it, and, when that is loſt, eternal ruin, and (if you will allow the expreſſion) national damnation muſt be the conſequence, And liberty will be loſt, whenever the fundamental principles of a free government are broken in upon, and deſtroyed. *If the foundations are caſt down, what ſhall the righteous do?* all is ruin and deſtruction, and there is no longer any room for the efforts of the ſincereſt patriotiſm to exert itſelf.

Is not the people's right to elect their repreſentatives after particular forms a barrier to their liberty? do not all attempts to influence elections and to corrupt thoſe repreſentatives ſtrike at the barrier? was not this the ſenſe of the legiſlature when they inflicted ſo many pains and penalties to guard it againſt the venality of the people, the iniquity of returning officers; the influence of a military power: the threatnings of exciſemen, and other miniſterial means of packing a parliament? and can we remain idle ſpectators of a late tranſaction, which without immediate redreſs, will deprive the people of a great part of this barrier, and put it in the power of the miniſtry at all times to vacate the people's election of knights of the ſhire?

Amongst the variety of ſchemes to ſecure a majority in parliament, always ready to vote under

under the direction of a miniſter, none ever bid ſo fair to invade and deſtroy the liberty of the ſubject, as that open defiance of the laws, now in being, for ſecuring the privilege of freeholders in their election of repreſentatives for their reſpective counties; by admitting copyholders to give their voices in the late Ox—— election. Before that time it was always ſuppoſed that, according to law, none but freeholders, or ſuch alone as hold their lands in poſſeſſion by deed or feoffment, could vote for knights of the ſhire: but by the ſheriff's permiſſion of copyholders, men who hold their lands by copy of court-roll, to vote at that election; by their making ſo free with the crime, commonly called perjury, by ſwallowing the oath which the law preſcribes for freeholders *only*: and by both their and the ſheriff's eſcape from puniſhment for ſo doing; the freeholder's *ſole* right to vote for knights of the ſhire has greatly ſuffered; and, no doubt the copyholders in other parts of the kingdom will in future elections think themſelves much aggrieved, if they ſhould be denied the privilege ſo lately allowed to their Ox—— friends. But how will this claſh with our conſtitution? That ancient tenure eſtabliſhed by *magnâ charta*, and confirmed by preſcription and acts of parliament almoſt in every reign, to thoſe who hold their lands *in capite?* which none, who hold their lands by *court-roll*, have a right to. So that whatever diſtinction there may be among the different ſorts of copyholders,

there can be no ſort of them capable of the privileges annexed by an excluſive law to the tenants *in capite*. The omiſſion of theſe words, *ad voluntatem domini* in a copyhold tenure, is ſo far from changing it into a freehold, or intitling the poſſeſſor thereof to the privilege of a freeholder; that it ſavours very much of that ſort of art uſed in a bad cauſe to deceive the public, and to bring a culprit off from juſtice: for the tenure by court-roll is always *ad voluntatem domini*, i. e. *at the will of the lord*, whether it be, or be not expreſſed; without whoſe conſent no copyholder is capable of making a proper aſſignment, deviſe, or ſurrender of his eſtate. And ſhall we permit this violation of our liberties to paſs unnoticed? ought not ſuch a violence to the freeholders excluſive right to chuſe their knights, rouſe them up to conſider, and to act by all legal and prudent methods to prevent the like for the future? It can hardly be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a proceeding was the ſole effect of the warm diſpoſition of a young lord, or of the ambition of an over-grown commoner. For, who would offer himſelf a candidate for a poſt, in which is required the greateſt oeconomy of the public money, by throwing away thirty or forty thouſand pounds, in oppoſition to the electors; and to force them to receive ſuch, whom they, by their conſtitution, cannot acknowledge to be their repreſentatives.

MUST we not look deeper into this affair? may it not be ſuſpected that the public money

was proſtituted for this purpoſe? and that the worſt of practices were made uſe of to corrupt and engage copyholders to take the freeholder's oath, to countenance an invaſion of their ſole right to vote for members to repreſent that county in parliament? I appeal to the ſecret hiſtory of the Phariſees of that college, which furniſhed the knaves with quibbles, and the fools with bacchanalian caſuiſtry. Can it be preſumed that the ſheriff, who by making no return to the royal precept, diſobeyed his ſovereign, and injured his country in the moſt eſſential part of its conſtitution, could have been protected from the reſentment of the legiſlature; or that ſo much treaſure, and ſuch bareſaced corruption could be employed, and the very faith of p———t be made to ſuffer in the opinion of all good ſubjects; purely to raiſe a couple of favourites to the ſenatorial dignity? when the miniſter might have ſecured them places in parliament at much leſs expence, and without ſo mean an expedient as to countenance p—j—ry, and without the neceſſity of intailing an odious reflection upon thoſe long and forced proceedings, which at laſt were neceſſary to gain their admiſſion into parliament.

A MINISTER of ſtate has too great a load upon him at the opening of a parliament to aſſume acts of ſupererrogation. This could be nothing leſs, than a ſample of politicks to introduce a new form of election: A method to open the way for ſecuring the knights of the ſeveral ſhires

to the power and influence of the miniſter, which by long experience could not be done by the baſe arts practiſed on boroughs. The freeholders would not be controuled, or bribed. They never were ſuſpected of ſelling their votes. Their integrity and ſtanch adherence to the intereſt of their country made them obnoxious to the grand corruptor. Therefore a new experiment muſt be tried to render their rights precarious. But as we cannot loſe our liberty unleſs we loſe our conſtitution; nor loſe our conſtitution unleſs we are accomplices to the violations of it, this fineneſſe of a miniſtry calls aloud, and ought to alarm the whole kingdom to uſe the utmoſt of their endeavours to prevent a repetition thereof. For it will always be in the power of a corrupt miniſtry, to have time-ſerving ſheriffs, and to vacate the ſeat in parliament of every knight choſen by the legal electors. Nor will the evil ſtop in this part of the conſtitution. They that are allowed to vote for members of parliament, will inſiſt upon a right to poll for coroners and verderers. The very thoughts of which point out a train of confuſion and deſtruction to thoſe original and natural liberties confirmed to the freeholders of England by *magna charta*, and *charta de foreſta*.

WHAT then will be the iſſue? will not ſuch a change in our conſtitution overthrow thoſe barriers, which the wiſdom of the legiſlature thought neceſſary to be enacted to prevent one part of the body politic preying upon the other

The

The election of coroners was reſerved to the freeholders, as a barrier againſt the power of the lords, who have the benefit of forfeitures; and therefore it would be very unequitable for their tenants to vote therein. And ſuppoſe the lord warden's office ſhould be made hereditary, and he enjoy large manors in his forreſt and other parts of the county, nothing can be a greater impropriety, or more endanger the ſubjects liberty than to permit his copyhold tenants to interfere in the election of verderers; who are to be judges in all diſputes between the crown and the forreſt freeholder.

But perchance the adverſary may with a ſneer reply, that we by theſe arguments are only beating the wind; there being nothing determined as to the copyholders right to vote for knights of the ſhire. So much the worſe. Is it not a fact undenied, that copyholders were permitted to take the freeholder's oath and vote in the Ox——— election? May not the ſame expedient ſerve on a like occaſion? Has it been determined that this unconſtitutional fact ſhall not be brought into precedent? Are the anti-miniſterial candidates allowed to poll copyholders? Are they ſure to carry their election by a majority of ſuch votes? So that the caſe at preſent ſtands thus. An election in favour of a miniſtry with a majority made up of copyholders may obtain a ſeat in parliament. An election againſt a miniſterial faction with a majority made up of copyholders may be excluded by a committee

of elections. By which means it will be always in the power of a miniſter to carry the election for a knight of the ſhire: and in a ſhort time diſcourage, and even deter all oppoſition. For who can bear the expence of a conteſt? and of a conteſt, in which they are ſure to be worſted.

THEREFORE, brother freeholder! nothing leſs than your ALL is at ſtake. And the iniquity of the late experiment makes it abſolutely neceſſary to lay hold of the preſent opportunity (when you have reaſon to expect the concurrence of a good miniſter) to call on your repreſentatives to move for a bill to aſcertain the right of voters in county-elections. While the right is ſuſpended by the intrigues of a miniſtry, there can be no legal certainty who ſhall be admitted in your name to a ſeat in parliament. If the exigencies of the people make it neceſſary to alter the mode of elections and introduce another branch of electors, let it be done under the ſanction of the laws. If not: let the freeholder's property be guarded againſt the like encroachments for the future, by ſuch laws as ſhall ſeem moſt expedient.

LET us hope however, that the zeal of a Britiſh H——e of C———ns, thoroughly awakened by the diſmal ſituation of a ſinking country, will not ſuffer its deſigns for the public welfare to be confined. Let us hope they will give as ready an attention to the injuries we have ſuffered at home, as to the reproaches of our country abroad. The ſame men will be

found to have been the authors of both cowards and paltroons towards the national enemy, and bravoes againſt the liberties of the people: they were cutting the throat of the conſtitution, at the ſame time that they were planning the ſacrifice of our trade, our colonies and our honour.

THIS appeal to the public, for what I know, may be ſtigmatized with the name of faction and ſedition. But let my accuſers remember, that in all free governments, where there are any remains of freedom, and where power is acknowledged to be derived from the people, the ſubjects will and ought to oppoſe every thing that looks like the leaſt deſign of incroaching upon their liberties: for therein conſiſts their ſafety. And if we conſult the records of all free ſtates, the people always conſulted in what manner they were to petition againſt, and to oppoſe all ſuch attempts, and even laws, as appeared to them to have any tendencies towards reſtraining and leſſening their liberties. A right which we claim not only from the nature and reaſon of things: not barely from precedents taken from foreign governments: but from the laws of our own nation.

P.

No. 78. TUESDAY, *January* 18, 1757.

On the preſent *Scarcity* and *Abuſe* of CORN.

If a ſon ſhall aſk bread of any of you, that is a father, will he give him a ſtone?

LUKE xi. 11.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

YOUR frequent adopting in your publication ſome portion of the ſacred records, which have been ſo many years neglected, I preſume, may be aſcribed to the goodneſs of that cauſe you have eſpouſed to promote virtue and good government. In the ſame view I preſent you with this piece, which in the original ſenſe of the author is as applicable to the ſubjects and governors of a country, as to the children and fathers of diſtinct families.

IT is an ADDRESS to the legiſlative power from the poor ſtarving people of Britain: whoſe ſufferings from the preſent high price of corn are paternally recommended from the throne; and, if not timely and effectually relieved and prevented, threaten the nation with greater miſchiefs than it is poſſible to bring upon us by a foreign enemy.

THEY

THEY with the greateſt humility ſet forth their want of bread in a land of plenty. They are truly ſenſible of the great encouragement given by the legiſlature to cultivate the ſtaff of life: but they feel moſt ſeverely the means by which it is made the inſtrument of death. They could preſerve a ſpirit of patience did the diſtreſs proceed from the juſtice of the Almighty, provoked by an almoſt total neglect of his worſhip amongſt thoſe in high places, and by the unreſtrained vices of the commonalty: but who can forbear remonſtrating againſt a famine brought upon the labourers and manufacturers, the moſt neceſſary, and, as could be well atteſted, the moſt virtuous part of the nation; not by their own fault, but by their fellow ſubjects and by the very people, who live upon their labour. A famine which in a little time would affect every member of the ſociety by driving the oppreſſed to deſpair; from whence the ſtate is continually perplexed with diſturbances: by converting the natural uſe of bread into the unnatural uſe of ſpirituous liquors; from whence the current generation is driven into all manner of vice, to commit moſt heinous crimes againſt God and man, to contemn the precepts of religion, and diſregard the penalties of the law; and not only to caſt off the cares of themſelves and their families, but to rob and murder the ſober and induſtrious, and to deſtroy in their conſtitution thoſe principles of vigour, courage and humanity, which were, heretofore,

heretofore, the glory and ſafety of the Britiſh nation, and whoſe extinction would haſten its diſgrace and ruin.

SHALL it not be amazing to all the world, to hear the cries of the poor Engliſh for *bread*, in a land abounding with corn: whoſe guardians pay a bounty for its exportation: and whoſe merchants ſeldom take off leſs than to the value of four millions in one year? and what will they think of a government, which allows a premium to thoſe, who carry their corn to foreign markets, and provide not againſt the diſtreſs of their own people, and the diſturbances occaſioned to the ſtate by the iniquitous practices of thoſe dealers, who detain or miſapply the bleſſing, which Providence gives for the uſe of the poor as well as the rich?

IT would indeed be a laudable expedient, to permit a temporary importation of grain; provided a prohibition ſhould be laid on the exportation of our own during that permiſſion. But this would be very far from removing the grievance: if the proviſion was to ſtop there, the malady would in all probability break out with greater violence to the hazard of the whole conſtitution in ſome other place.

IN fine, here is an abſceſs in the body politic, which drains the conſtitution of that nouriſhment, without which thoſe parts, created for the ſervice of the whole, cannot perform their neceſſary duty, and are driven to the dire alternative, either to deſtroy themſelves, or to force

force the more noble parts to cut them off. Therefore this abſceſs muſt be probed to the bottom: the ſurgeon who in ſuch caſes ſpares the knife, may patch the patient up, but will never make a cure: and the next gathering of the morbific matter commonly brings on a diſſolution of the vital parts.

THE ſcarcity of corn in the Britiſh granary can be occaſioned at preſent only by two ſorts of people amongſt ourſelves. There is no room for the moſt diſcontented to murmur againſt Providence, whoſe liberal hand in the laſt harveſt diſtinguiſhed itſelf in favour of Britain: nor have the exportations of this year been ſufficient to raiſe *bread* beyond the reach of the labourer and manufacturer. But the ABSCESS, whereinto all our *wheat* (of which is made the *ſtaff of life*) is drawn from them, will by a proper enquiry be found either in the ſtorehouſes and barns of monopolizers, or in the ſtills and warehouſes of a few diſtillers.

BOTH of theſe are pernicious to the body politic. The monopoliſt has been always the object of our legiſlature. Many laws are in being, were they well executed, to prevent the engroſſing, *&c.* of corn. The diſtiller, though univerſally acknowledged to be more pernicious to ſociety, has met with greater lenity, and been permitted to proceed in the corrupting of our morals, till they have almoſt ſtarved the remainder of thoſe whom they could not prevail upon to poiſon themſelves with ſpirituous liquors.

But

But what could be expected under a miniſter, who after agreeing that the produce of the diſtillery would in time vitiate, emaciate, enervate and conſume the people, was weak or wicked enough to declare, he could not manage the reins of government without its aſſiſtance; to prevail with the people intoxicated with its liquor to chuſe repreſentatives unworthy of the truſt, and with five hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* to enable him to ſecure a majority in the h—— to execute his commands, againſt the wholſome advice of thoſe ſons of liberty, who ſo heartily united to remove the evil tendency of univerſal drunkeneſs; that a worthy member, who poſſeſſes the largeſt rum diſtillery in our plantations, offered to ſhew an example of his abhorrence of an act, which threatned deſtruction to his country, by voluntarily throwing up that valuable manufacture.

A DECLARATION, though too generous to expect an imitation in a country almoſt drowned in the produce of the diſtillery, will be always remembred with honor to the patriot, who made it; and ſhould be an awakening argument to a government, which avows better principles, and promiſes better meaſures, to reſume the conſideration of a trade, whoſe exiſtence is grounded on the ruins of the moſt ſerviceable members in the ſociety: and at leaſt to ſet bounds to thoſe laws, which by the influence of bad meaſures made vices legal, threw down the fences of ſubordination, obliterated

all

all the order of ſociety and decency of regular eſtabliſhments, by licentiouſneſs and debauchery; and at laſt have encouraged the men, who call themſelves *malt-diſtillers*, to bring a famine upon the land for the ſupport of ridiculous, expenſive, and ruinous meaſures.

THE malady diſcovered; they who watch for our lives, as well as liberty and property, it is univerſally hoped, will not fail in the operation, nor withdraw the edge of their diſcernment, till the real cauſe of our preſent *ſcarcity of corn* is diſcovered; and heal up the wound with the balm of *honeſty*. Let the laws againſt engroſſers be effectually enforced; if they appear to be evaſive. Let not the law be open to hang the poor ſtarving labourer, who takes that by force or violence, which is denied him at a reaſonable price: and explained away, or not executed againſt the rich farmer or overgrown factor, who is in a combination to raiſe the price of grain, when there is no want of corn in the land. No doubt, every one has a right to his property, and to make a good market: but laws of protection were never intended to encourage oppreſſion. And it is as much the concern of government to prevent the miſerly rich from grinding the uſeful poor in their dealings, as it is to preſerve the whole ſociety from deſtruction.

IF the malady is increaſed by an *abuſe* of *wheat* in the *diſtillery*, the readieſt, and, in the opinion of our greateſt men for virtue and know-

ledgs, the only way would be, to follow the recent example of Sweden, to prohibit a trade, which every one knows is deſtructive to the *health* and *morals* of the people. A trade, which by its progreſs threatens to deprive the nation of that claſs of men, from which our commerce muſt be ſupplied with manufacturers, our navigation with mariners, and our war with ſoldiers. This method of debauchery is arrived to ſuch a pitch of terror to the public, that it has baffled the diligence of the magiſtrates, endeavouring to put a ſtop to its progreſs, or to hinder its effects: they are able to inform you of the folly of thoſe laws, which puniſh crimes, inſtead of preventing them; that legal authority has little influence when oppoſed to the madneſs of multitudes intoxicated with ſpirits, and that the voice of juſtice is very little regarded amidſt riot and drunkenneſs. And when that awe, by which men are reſtrained within the limits of their own ſubordination, is broke through, what can hinder them from expreſſing their reſentments with the moſt offenſive freedom, or from purſuing their revenge with the moſt daring violence?

But the miſchief of this trade does not ceaſe here: for drunkenneſs is the parent of idleneſs: he that is over-burthened with liquor is too feeble and too ſtupid to follow his employment. Idleneſs is the parent of poverty: the drunkard's family muſt therefore be ſoon diſtreſſed, and his ſubſtance reduced to nothing.

Poverty

Poverty brought on by ſuch means makes him ſuſceptible of bad advice: and too often the man, who before he taſted this infatuating liquor, contributed, every day by honeſt labour, to the happineſs or convenience of life: who ſupported his family in decent plenty, and enjoyed himſelf at eaſe, becomes at once miſerable and wicked, aſſociates with thieves and murderers, is deteſted as a nuſance by the community, and hunted by juſtice, till he is run down at the gallows.

But ſhould theſe reflections appear too ſevere on that grand engine of vice and brutality: ſhould there be ſtill any reaſons of ſtate to preſerve the duty raiſed by the excife of this trade: or ſhould the tenderneſs with which the guardians of the ſubjects property ſcruple to turn a-drift ſo many thouſands, who in this nation, ſubſiſt on the profits of the diſtillery, and would thereby not only be to ſeek for a way of living, but greatly injured in their property: let not, however, it be ſaid that the *ſons of Britain aſked* BREAD *of you*, who are the *fathers* of the body politic, and that *you gave them a* STONE. Let not miſrepreſentations, nor an over-righteous adherence to private property, nor yet any fear of diminiſhing the public treaſure, ſo far miſguide and influence the wiſdom of our guardians, as to prevail with them, in the preſent diſtreſs for *bread*, to permit the diſtiller to continue the converting of that grain, without which we cannot live, into a liquor, which will as effec-

tually deſtroy the poor, as if they ſhould be enjoined to live upon a *ſtone*.

LET then the guardians of this nation embrace the opportunity to acquit themſelves of that imputation they juſtly deſerved, who were deaf to all arguments, and carried the gin-act to ſupport themſelves at the expence of virtue, tranquility, and trade. They that are in earneſt to ſupport government muſt do it by promoting virtue, and removing all the adjuncts of vice. The ſovereign ſits moſt firm and brilliant on his throne at the head of a ſober, virtuous people: the miniſter, who cultivates virtue, will never ſtand in need of the fruits of vice to carry him through the fatigues and expences of the ſtate: and the parliament will exert their wiſdom and juſtice moſt in the ſuppreſſing of every privilege of the ſubject, which is found to encroach upon or injure their conſtituents.

SHOULD it then appear that the *wheat*, which ought to go to market for the ſupport of life, is bought up by any ſet of people to diſtill; it is injurious to the ſociety in general: It deprives the labourer of *bread*: and, if we may credit the moſt learned phyſicians, it prepares a ſlow poiſon, which in a few years muſt deprive the nation of its moſt uſeful hands. Therefore, the leaſt that can be done in this caſe muſt be to prohibit *totally* the uſe of *wheat* in the DISTILLERY.

Z.

No.

No. 79. SATURDAY, *January* 22, 1757.

Virtus, repulſæ neſcia ſordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec ſumit, aut ponit ſecureis,
Arbitrio popularis auræ.

HOR.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IN the account given us by Philip de Comines, of the famous interview between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. of France, one cannot avoid taking notice of the following remark. 'On 'the ſide, on which our king was to come, 'the country was open and pleaſant. On the 'other ſide it was the ſame; only when the 'king of England came to the river, he was 'to paſs a cauſeway, with a moraſs on both 'ſides, which might have proved dangerous, 'had we meant any thing but well: and doubt-'leſs, the Engliſh are not ſo politic, in their 'treaties and capitulations, as the French. Let 'people ſay what they will, they go on bluntly 'with their buſineſs: and it concerns a man to 'be cautious, how he angers them.'—Perhaps this magnanimous prince may be thought to have acted imprudently in thus expoſing his

perſon. But the French, it ſeems, if we will believe Comines, had no ſiniſter deſign; or rather, (which is moſt probable) were afraid of putting it in execution. The truth is, King Edward was not inſenſible of their artful management, but truſting, under God, to the courage of his faithful Britons, and not to foreign mercenaries, he deſpiſed all their little tricks and ſtratagems; and convinced the world by his gallant behaviour on this occaſion, that we were then ſo far from apprehending an invaſion from the French, that they actually dreaded being made a province to England.

WOULD not any one be apt to imagine, from the paſſage above quoted, that this hiſtorian had as ſlender an opinion of Britiſh policy, as we have of French faith? but the obſervation he makes in another place, ſufficiently confutes this notion. 'In my opinion, ſays he, of all 'the countries in Europe, where I was ever 'acquainted, the government is no where ſo 'well managed, the people no where leſs ob-'noxious to violence, nor their houſes leſs liable 'to the deſolations of war, than in England; '*for there the calamities fall only on the authors.*' Can a nobler character be given of any nation, than to be dreaded abroad, and bleſt with a wiſe adminiſtration at home! an adminiſtration, that conſulted nothing elſe but the eaſe and happineſs of the people! our miniſters in thoſe golden days, had no other view but the public welfare, were ſtrangers to the wretched expe-

dients,

dients, and would have ſcorned the low arts of modern ſtateſmen. With what indignation would that man have been then received, who ſhould have dared to adviſe his prince, or even given his conſent, to throw away ten times more in fruitleſs ſubſidies, inſignificant negotiations, and mock armaments, than would have been ſufficient to carry on a vigorous and ſucceſsful war? our generous anceſtors, not yet enervated with French luxury and Italian effeminacy, reſented the ſlighteſt injury or inſult done to the nation, and went on bluntly with their buſineſs, that is, bravely and honeſtly. They came to the point at once, and demanded immediate ſatisfaction; and, when they found themſelves trifled with, knew how to take it, without further ceremony. This kept their perfidious neighbours in awe, and confounded all their fine-ſpun ſchemes, and ſubtle machinations.

It muſt indeed be owned, that the French have ſometimes outwitted us; but this, I preſume, was not ſo much owing to want of common ſenſe in us, as of common honeſty in them; and imports no more than this; that they have treated us as fools, becauſe we did not treat them as knaves. But let us act again like Britons, and ſee if they dare provoke us. A moderate ſhare of ſagacity, joined with native courage, and inflexible integrity, will outweigh the politics of a thouſand Machiavels. The Fox, it is allowed, is a much cunninger creature than the lion. His head is always full of tricks and

wiles, for ſtealing the poor farmers poultry, which the latter is unacquainted with, or would diſdain to practiſe. But when the king of the forreſt begins to roar, what does the Fox's cunning avail? the ſtinking animal inſtantly ſkulks away to its den; or, if perchance met with, is ſure to be torn in pieces.

For my part, I could never perceive ſuch a mighty myſtery in politics, as ſome pretend. I do not know any thing elſe it conſiſts in, but conſulting the good of the community, and purſuing ſhort, eaſy and lawful means, which are always the ſafeſt and beſt, to obtain the end. Thoſe miniſters, who have trod in the plain direct road, have never failed gaining their point, and will be revered to all ages; whereas, on the contrary, thoſe who have been noted for ſelfiſh views, for men of deep intrigue and artful managing of parties, ever going the fartheſt way about, and eternally involved in bye paths and intricate labyrinths of their own contrivance, have often brought the nation to the brink of ruin, and entailed indelible infamy on their memories.

How muſt every true Briton redden with ſhame to ſee this once happy iſland now ſo little deſerving the character given of it by the French hiſtorian! is there a ſingle article, mentioned by him left for us to boaſt of? have we not been long alarmed with invaſions from our once deſpiſed and conquered foes? has not our courage or loyalty been called in queſtion, by forbidding

bidding us to take up arms in our own defence? and, *Oh! tell it not in Gath*: have we not been forced to truſt our liberties and properties to the mercy of ſtrangers; and thereby felt, in ſome degree, the calamities of war at home as well as abroad? has not our ſhameful conduct in the Mediterranean expoſed us, not only to the inſults of our potent rivals, but even to thoſe of every petty ſtate in Italy? and to crown all, do not the authors of this national diſgrace, and the numberleſs diſtreſſes we groan under, mock at our woes, and glory in their iniquities? does not the whole enormous weight of our taxes fall on the oppreſſed and impoveriſhed people, whilſt their inſolent plunderers (another mighty army, not to be numbered, of placemen, penſioners and ſycophants, far more dangerous to our liberties, than even foreign troops) riot in eaſe and affluence? Is not a nation, ſo circumſtanc'd, ripe for deſtruction? and, may it not be eaſily foreſeen, without pretending to a ſpirit of prophecy, that the dark cloud, which has been ſo long lowering, will at length burſt on our heads, and certainly overwhelm us, unleſs ſome extraordinary providence interpoſe, by ſuggeſting ſuch meaſures to our new miniſtry, as may ſave us from the impending ſtorm.

I AM ſenſible that our late directors, who regret the loſs of their places infinitely more than that of Minorca, do their utmoſt to divert the popular odium from themſelves to the preſent miniſtry, by artful inſinuating, that we ſee little

proſpect of better times, ſince a change of men has *yet* produced no change of meaſures, and that the grievances, ſo heavily complained of, are ſtill unredreſſed. We find indeed, by ſad experience, they are, not only ſtill unredreſſed, but ſo like to continue: And how, for heavens ſake! ſhould it be otherwiſe? is there a ſingle inſtance in hiſtory of a people, long habituated to vice, that was ever made virtuous in an inſtant? when bribery, corruption, and perjury have been reduced into a ſyſtem, and univerſally ſtudied and practiſed, for theſe thirty years paſt; when the rewards, due to merit, have been given to the vileſt profligates; when the national burdens have increaſed, in proportion as our commerce has diminiſhed; and, through the blunders and treachery of thoſe at the helm, new taxes have become neceſſary, when the old ones were already inſupportable; when the exchequer has been drained, to fill private coffers; and the ancient glory of Britain eclipſed to aggrandize a few upſtarts; what miniſter, though he had the courage of Alexander, the integrity of Cato, and the wiſdom of Solomon, could ſingly ſtem the rapid torrent, or be able to introduce a ſudden reformation?

CAN it be expected that a chronical diſtemper, grown every hour more ſtubborn through irregular management, ſhould be cured in a day, when the ſkilfulleſt regimen of many years ſo often proves ineffectual? a man in a conſumption, after having been long tampered with, by

a pack of impudent ignorant quacks, who have not only ruined him by their exorbitant fees, but, with perpetual purging and bleeding, almoſt exhauſted the vital ſpirits, and worn him to a mere ſkeleton, at laſt applies to an honeſt phyſician. The honeſt Doctor, though he attends purely out of charity, and preſcribes the moſt ſovereign cordials, is ſure of being traduced and villified by the diſcarded empirics, for not doing impoſſibilities; though it is evident that in the preſent caſe, not even a Sydenham, or a Ratcliff, could reſtore the emaciated carcaſs to any degree of its priſtine vigour, without a tedious courſe of the very beſt medicines.

As the body politic is juſtly compared to the natural, and, when in a decay, to be treated in the ſame manner; is it reaſonable to expect, that a miniſter, let his talents be ever ſo conſpicuous, ſhould be able to remove thoſe evils at once, which are ſo numerous, and have taken ſuch deep root? to reſtore the languid commonwealth to its former flouriſhing ſtate, which has been almoſt brought to its laſt gaſp, under the cruel hands of our late ſtate-quacks, and has no other ſpirits left but from their poiſonous noſtrums? is it the work of a day, to make thoſe enamoured with religion, who during their whole lives have ſet the Almighty at open defiance? to make an old debauchee chaſte, a ſpendthrift frugal, a gameſter honeſt, a miſer generous, or a poltroon to fight for his country?

THE miniſter, on whom the eyes of the nation are now fixed, muſt unavoidably meet with difficulties, and thoſe almoſt inſuperable: thanks to our late managers! who have done every thing in their power to intimidate, to blind and ſtupify the people; to quench every ſpark of martial ardour, and ſtifle the riſing flame of patriotiſm, that began to glow in their breaſts, to corrupt their principles, and taint their morals, and to laugh all public, as well as private virtue out of countenance.

A gloomy ſcene indeed! but is there no remedy left? Yes, 'tis to be hoped, there is, if we do not, by our repeated crimes, render ourſelves unworthy of the care of Providence. Let the ſeveral departments be filled with none but men of tried integrity and abilities; and ſince a nation, through bad management, may become bankrupt, as well as a private perſon, let the miniſter endeavour, in the firſt place, to retrieve our diſordered finances; which can only be effected by huſbanding the public treaſure, and faithfully applying it to the uſes it was given for; that is, to the ſole ſervice and benefit of the givers: by cutting off all ſuperfluous places and penſions, and reducing the reſt to more moderate bounds; and by not only bringing the robbers of the nation to juſtice, but forcing them to refund their ill-got wealth, acquired from the ſweat and blood of millions. The taſk, I own, is extremely arduous, but perhaps not wholly impracticable. Who knows but Britain may

once

once more rear up its drooping head, once more ſhine forth with its priſtine luſtre, and once more be reſpected by its neighbours? A miniſter, who, without any intereſted views, thus undauntedly ſets himſelf in the gap, between his country and ruin, muſt expect that faction will ſnarl and foam, and ſpit forth all its venom: and ſhould the oppoſition be ſo ſtrong (which heaven, in pity to Britain, avert!) as to fruſtrate his generous efforts; let him comfort himſelf with this reflection; that the very attempt was glorious, and that his name will be revered to lateſt poſterity; whilſt that of Grypus, and a thouſand ſuch, ſhall be either loſt in their original obſcurity, or only remembred like Cataline's, with horror and deteſtation.

But let us entertain better expectations: we have a gracious prince upon the throne; a lover of truth, who has hearkened to the voice of his people: and we have a people reſolute to ſupport their own cauſe: we have an earneſt of good meaſures actually given us by the diſmiſſion of the Hanoverians, and we have the beſt reaſon to hope that, if the public ſpirit perſevere with its preſent unanimity, faction muſt yield and a new ſyſtem be eſtabliſhed.

Let then the guardians of the people and counſellors to the crown, who are conſtituted to watch, to check, to avert, to retrieve, to ſupport, and to withſtand, whatever brings diſhonour or diſquietude to the king or nation; do their duty in the preſent moſt preſſing exigencies of the

the ſtate: let them unite in the purſuit of thoſe, who have been the inſtruments of our loſſes and of our ſovereign's diſquietude; without any deſire of oppoſition, perſonal diſlike, little motives of reſentment or ambition, without any ſelfiſh or partial conſideration: and let them ſhew by their conduct that they are deeply affected, but not depreſſed with the impending ruin of their country, and that they are determined not to be remiſs in their endeavours to retrieve its welfare, which can only be effected by a wiſe oeconomy and a temperate reformation; by regaining the confidence and authority to government, and reviving in the nation a truly Britiſh and a moral ſpirit; and they, who ſhall concur in ſuch a conduct with ſpirit and affection, will ſoon be convinced that virtue will at laſt prevail, and Britain be reſtored to its ancient luſtre.

A. Z.

No. 80.

No. 80. SATURDAY, *January* 29, 1757.

——*Dum me Galatea tenebat,*
Nec ſpes libertatis erat, nec cura peculi.
VIR. Ec. I.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IN every well governed ſtate, which propoſes to maintain a juſt poize between tyranny and licentiouſneſs, the ſubject is, by his original contract, obliged to ſupport the government in the purſuit of ſuch meaſures, as ſhall be found neceſſary for protecting their own property and privileges, and for ſtrengthening the crown againſt all foreign and domeſtic foes: the government is by the ſame obligation engaged not to encroach upon the liberty of the ſubject, nor to miſapply the public aid, nor to impoſe the neceſſary taxes in ſuch a manner as to throw too great a burthen upon individuals, or which might be raiſed upon the whole community with greater ſatisfaction to the people and more advantage of the ſtate. For, liberty and good oeconomy of the public treaſure have always been known to keep pace with each other. They who

who have made no ſcruple to waſte or embezzle the king's exchequer, have always invented ways and means of filling it again, which diſcovered an inclination to deprive the people of their liberty, by reducing them to a ſtate of poverty and inability to exert their power againſt the plunderers of the nation.

WHERE there is unanimity there can be no objection to the impoſing a tax, though ever ſo large, *equally*, which ariſes from every part of the conſtitution, and without which the whole community would be expoſed to certain deſtruction. But, ſhould ſuch a tax, though in its firſt appearance new and extraordinary, be calculated to relieve the ſubject, by eaſing him from greater impoſitions; and to increaſe the public ſtock by diveſting its collection of the great incumbrances, which frequently defeat the intention of the legiſlature; its novelty and extraordinarineſs would recommend it to the meaneſt contributor, and convince the moſt avaricious that there is money to be ſaved by an equitable general tax. A tax, that no one contributes to in a larger ſum, than his ſtation in life can afford, and does require: and that in a great meaſure, while it aſcertains to the government a more real ſum, relieves the ſubject from the terror of an exciſe, and from the inſupportable load of ſalaries for the maintenance of uſeleſs officers.

To exemplify the truth of theſe remarks, we need go no further than the articles of *tea* and *ſalt*; which, I apprehend, are commodities uſed by

by the whole body politic, in ſome degree; and pay a large duty: but thoſe duties are far from anſwering the purpoſes intended by the legiſlature.

If we examine the *tea duty*, it will be found in its preſent ſtate far from anſwering the great ends, for which it was impoſed. It is injurious to the fair trader: it is incumbred with a numerous family of officers; and it provides for a more numerous ſociety of ſmugglers. For, the duty upon *tea* is the bait, by which they, that run it, catch the poor and miſerly, and at once ſtop the courſe of trade, levy a great part of the duty on the buyer, and carry immenſe ſums by theſe means to our enemies; if that calculation be juſt, which is made by comparing the imports of tea by the Eaſt-India Company in London with thoſe in France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Embden, whoſe cargoes amount to fourteen millions of pounds weight: which put together exceed ours by ten millions of pounds weight; the greater part of which is brought clandeſtinely into England and conſumed and paid for by this nation, which is the greateſt and almoſt only mart of that commodity in Europe.

Was there ever ſuch a perplexed trade as this? where the Eaſt India Company is deprived of ſuch a large proportion thereof; and, by the competition of ſo many different purchaſers of *teas* at Canton, obliged to pay an extraordinary advance for them in China: who

the government is not only wronged out of the duty, but the ſubjects who buy up *run teas* are imperceptibly contributing to enrich the French, Dutch, Swedes, *&c.* by paying that advance upon them, which would, through the hands of the fair trader, accumulate in the public treaſury, and render other taxes leſs needful; and where the extraordinary expence of guarding againſt the frauds, to which, under the preſent regulation it is liable, and the many penal and ſanguinary laws, which it has produced, are continually upon the increaſe, to the great leſſening of the revenue, and to the hazard of Britiſh liberty.

SHOULD not the nation with one voice deſire, almoſt upon any conditions, to be delivered from this duty? ſhould not the Eaſt India Company ſolicit the abolition thereof with all their intereſt? and can any miniſtry that have the good of their king and country at heart, reject a propoſal, which at once, will raiſe more money to the government with leſs burthen and expence to the people; will abrogate or render the ſanguinary laws unneceſſary; throw the whole *tea-trade* into the hands of the Britiſh Eaſt India Company, and will thereby leſſen, if not utterly ruin the importation of teas into our neighbouring ſtates, and enable our company to buy the *teas* in China at their own price?

AGAIN, the *ſalt-duty* deſerves our moſt ſerious conſideration. It is a very unequal tax; and if am rightly informed, *not one half* of its produce

duce comes into the Exchequer. It is even burthenſome to the poor; the labourer, the manufacturer, the navigator and the farmer; and muſt, in its proportion, affect the labour, navigation, and commerce of this kingdom, by raiſing a prodigious ſum, at the rate of three ſhillings and fourpence *per* buſhel, for other purpoſes than the real ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown, and of the trade and navigation of this iſland.

Does not the great conſumption of this commodity lie amongſt the inferior part of the body politic? the people, that live much upon pulſe and roots, as moſt of our manufacturers do, conſume great quantities of *ſalt*; that food requiring more thereof than any other to qualify it for the palate and the human conſtitution. The account of a ſhip's ſtores is greatly increaſed with the charge of *ſalt* to preſerve their beef and pork. The farmer is not only out of pocket every year conſiderably for the *ſalt* uſed in his family-proviſion, but in his dairy; his butter and cheeſe cannot go to market till they have paid their proportion to this duty; not to mention the great conſumption he makes thereof by the brine neceſſary to prepare the grain before it is ſown. And yet that is the leaſt evil. The duty upon *ſalt*, as it is now continued, deprives the huſbandman of the beſt means of cultivating the earth. For, if it was neceſſary, I could demonſtrate, that the moſt ſtubborn and ſtiff-lands in this iſland, which reſiſt all other means of cultivation, might be meliorated, and made fruitful

by the help of *ſalt only*, which is lock'd up from this uſe by the heavy duty laid upon it; when all other nations laugh us to ſcorn for ſuch an overſight in our policy, and manure their otherwiſe cold and barren land with the *ſalt* of Portugal, to the great advantage of the Dutch; who for many years have found it worth their while to load a fleet of forty ſail and upwards with this commodity at St. Ube's for the manure of the Baltic ſhore.

Is it not then as neceſſary, or indeed more, for the ſervice of the nation in general, to conſider of ways and means to take off the duty from this commodity? and eſpecially, when the exigencies of the nation demand every penny that can be ſaved in the raiſing of our taxes, ought not every one that loves his country, that would eaſe the poor, promote trade, relieve our navigation and commerce, and increaſe the public ſtock, forward a ſcheme to anſwer all theſe wiſe and good purpoſes?

THE means of ſaving a ſtate is not to be fruitful in *expedients* to raiſe money; but to raiſe it in ſuch a manner, as at the ſame time the government is ſerved and the people not weakened. For, the ſtrength of every ſtate depends upon the number and riches of the ſubjects; and therefore, EASE and EQUALITY ought to be the grand objects of thoſe, who attempt to deliver their opinion upon taxes. For, where theſe qualities are wanting, the people muſt be oppreſſed and weakned.

How

How much this has been the care of our *tax-ſchemers* for ſixty years paſt, is more felt than can be expreſſed: and their narrow conception of things abundantly appears in the late acts upon plate, dice, &c. But men that are determined to get money, are ſeldom very ſcrupulous about the means. And it is a true obſervation, that they who thirſt after money for corrupt or vicious purpoſes, are leſs ſcrupulous how they injure the parties from whence they draw their ſupplies.

But it is hoped that the time is come when Britain ſhall no more repine under ſuch weak meaſures: when her miniſters ſhall compaſſionate her diſtreſſes; and adhere to thoſe councils, which can only deliver her from a faction at home, and the enemy abroad. When her guardians will no longer concur with ways and means to add a greater burthen upon her: and when every ſound heart and wiſe head ſhall exert his talents and aſſiſt in the ſervice of our king and country, by ſupporting and improving the plan exhibited by a worthy patriot in the great council of the nation: a plan calculated to ABOLISH the duties upon *teas* and *ſalt*, and to lay one more equitable, leſs expenſive in its collection, and more eaſy to be raiſed, in their ſtead.

BY the preſent duty on *tea*, the conſumer who drinks it daily, does not pay leſs than nine ſhillings; and few leſs than eighteen ſhillings exciſe *per annum*: the dealer is harraſſed by exciſemen: the revenue is loaded with officers:

and many thouſands, who might be made good ſubjects, are tempted by the advantages of ſmuggling to deſert the intereſt of their country, and to join our national enemies. Theſe grievances are propoſed to be remedied by a moderate tax of five ſhillings *per annum* on the conſumer. So that by advancing to the government about the *eighth* part of a penny *per* day, the ſubject will be relieved from the preſent extraordinary duty upon *teas* of all ſorts, and from all the circumſtances, which have occaſioned the numerous laws and officers for preventing frauds in that branch of trade; and produce *above double* the ſupply to the public ſtock.

By the *ſalt duty* the burden at preſent lies upon thoſe, that are leaſt able to pay it: the poor manufacturer, that keeps four apprentices or ſervants, pays four times as much as the gentleman, that lives in town and keeps a dozen ſervants. And yet this duty does not anſwer the great ends, for which it was laid on. Therefore a rate of *two ſhillings per annum* on the conſumer, will releaſe the poor from a tax of *three ſhillings and four pence* a buſhel, and at the ſame time enable the ſtate to protect us from the inſults of our enemies, and to carry our manufactures cheaper to market.

A SCHEME thus ſtated without any ſelfiſh views, gives relief to the ſubject, as well as ſtrength to the crown: and diſbands an army of hirelings, who have for many years been the drudges of corruption, at the expence of the public: and, when

when adopted, is the moſt probable means of getting rid of thoſe leeches of the ſtate, the money-jobbers, by raiſing the ſupplies within the year; and of bearing down all oppoſition to our happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, by convincing our enemies that they have no longer to deal with a miniſtry, whoſe wiſdom could not, or whoſe ſelfiſh views would not let them ſee the true intereſt of their country: but with a powerful, rich and united nation, governed by wiſe, undaunted, uncorrupted and diſembarraſſed councils; which as much diſdain the little intrigues of a cabal, temporary expedients and the unconſtitutional aid of a ſtanding army of mercenaries of any kind, to ſupport their intereſt with their king and country, as they have little reaſon to fear the attempts of an enemy, who never ſucceeded but by the *cowardice* or *treachery* of our own people.

LET us not then imagine that the whole maſs is ſo corrupted as not to be reformed: or that we muſt ſubmit patiently to our country's calamities, or ſhare in its ſpoil. The government of all ſtates is a mere piece of *clockwork*; with ſprings and wheels, which muſt act after a particular manner, and therefore the art is to conſtitute it ſo as to make it more to the public advantage, to the intereſt of the *governors* and *governed*. Which was never ſo judiciouſly attempted as in this propoſal. Becauſe it will relieve the people from *two heavy taxes*: and it will *convince* them that their governors, placing a con-

fidence in their aſſiſtance, will leave them to *chuſe their repreſentatives* free from external *force* or private *bribery*.

O.

No. 81. SATURDAY, *February* 4, 1757.

Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi eſſe, facere illi injurias, vos prohibere poſtremo ſociis veſtris veluti hoſtibus; hoſtibus pro ſociis utuntur: poteſtne in tam diverſis mentibus aut pax, aut concordia eſſe?

SALL.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

AS you appear to me to be the only writer upon public affairs at preſent, who has laid a foundation upon which an author can build his political diſcourſes; and as you have thereby acknowledged and adopted a certain rule, by which you not only can weigh what degree of propriety, integrity, and merit this or that public character contains, but are likewiſe yourſelf and all your writings ſubject to the ſame. It is to you, Sir, who, like all good and impartial magiſtrates,

giſtrates, acknowledge the force of thoſe laws by which you try others, that I ſhall dedicate for the future ſuch little tracts, as the profligacy and danger of the preſent times draw forth from a breaſt warmed with ardor by a true zeal for the public, however ſacrificed, reduced, and dejected, againſt the inſolence and oppreſſion of thoſe factions, which at this hour endeavour to harraſs and inſult their diſtreſſed country.

THE great object eſtabliſhed as the baſis of your ſyſtem, as the law between contending parties, and the touch-ſtone of oppoſing characters; is the BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

IT is by this I ſee you try your own diſcourſes: would to God our miniſters and our ſenators would try their own ſentiments and inclinations towards the public by the ſame teſt! whenever they engage in that political care, which muſt determine the welfare of millions.—Was this the caſe, politicks would not be ſo looked on as a game, but a ſcience:—thoſe who ſet down to it would not ſtake perhaps their all upon a calculation, that, by a cunning artful application to the paſſions of the great gameſters, or by well timed acts of legiſlative complaiſance, ſuch or ſuch a publick emolument would fall to their ſhare. No, Sir! it would be by an early ſtudy of the hiſtory of their own country; a thorough knowledge of, and perfect attachment, to the great outlines of our happy conſtitution; and by a conſtant and unbiaſſed attention to the buſineſs of parliament,

that our politicians would alone hope to arrive at thoſe ſtations, which were originally inſtituted, in all civil governments, for the ſervice and protection of the public, and not for the aggrandization and riot of individuals.

WHICH of theſe at preſent is the caſe in this unhappy country it is no difficult matter to determine. Its ſituation with reſpect to affairs abroad, will inform the moſt diſtant obſerver, that ſome internal evils prey upon the vital parts of that nation, whoſe aſpect and ſtrength are ſo totally changed; and even the moſt pampered ſycophants, who have for years ſucked its blood at home, do not ſcruple to declare, that they are, and will be, nouriſhed with the beſt juices of their country.

AT a ſeaſon when we can hope to emerge, from the moſt tremendous war with a vigilant, inſatiable, formidable, ſuperior enemy, by nothing but our oeconomy, valour and unanimity; behold! ſome men are ſtill agitated by the ſame rapaciouſneſs, from which our weakneſs flows, enliſting themſelves implicitly under perſons, whoſe ſyſtems tended only to uſurpation, and whoſe meaſures have been burthenſome in their operation, and moſt fatal in their effects; becauſe moſt incompatible with the principles and ſentiments of a free people. If this be the caſe, I may then apply with that tool of faction, the writer of the TEST, thoſe piercing appeals to my countrymen, which the Roman tribune *Memmius* uſed to the Romans

mans, who were then embarraſſed by evils, like thoſe which now diſtreſs us.—Ambitious and corrupt leaders and profligate factions.—" Had " you, Romans! but the ſame attention to de- " fend your liberty, which your oppreſſors have " to circumvent it, and eſtabliſh their own ty- " ranny, the public would not be ſacrificed as it " now is, and your favours would be in the " poſſeſſion of the moſt honeſt, not of the worſt " and moſt audacious men."—

PERMIT me for once to call out with that factious writer; who is it that has ſtood ſilent and baſely affected ignorance, when the honour and intereſt of his country were neglected or betrayed by his adminiſtration? who is it that thought a neutral part, at ſuch an intereſting criſis, the moſt eligible; and wrapping himſelf up in a high employment, ſilently condemned, or clandeſtinely undermined his collegue in power? I call upon the author of the TEST to point out this ſtate-patriot, for we both agree there was ſuch a man? I leave a —— for his name: let poſterity fill it up.——If his power be ſo formidable and his connections ſo tremendous, the preſent age dares not. Let me aſk further, who is it that for ſeveral years paſt has undertaken the nauſeous and hard-hearted part, of ſifting, modelling and conducting all the conteſted elections in a certain h——e?—and of preparing thoſe double interpretations and illuſory diſtinctions, by which the intereſt of the ancient families of this kingdom have been ſubverted? who is it

that

that has recommended himſelf to a court by being the ſcourge of what is called the country party,—till at laſt from long conducting and garb—g the H——e of C——s he had the inſolence to declare, he would *conduct* that ductile body? let me aſk again, who it is, that preſided early at that celebrated academy, inſtituted for the extirpation of true morality, the encouragement of deſtructive epicureiſm, and eſtabliſhed for the corrupting, enſnaring and enſlaving our nobleſt youths, upon their firſt arrival from foreign countries, to rivet on their minds every idle and ſervile idea ſuitable to foreign climes, but incompatible with the true genius and intereſt of their own?—Could it be from *that* temple of ſenſuality, indolence and deſpondence that we were to expect national reformation? or was it to the high prieſt of *that* temple that we were to entruſt the conduct of this deciſive war and the preſervation of our liberties?

VANDYKE muſt, I doubt, condeſcend once more to ſoften the features and double enamel that portrait, e'er he will prevail with even the ladies, as much as they love a rake, to clamour for the miniſter he has recommended.—Nor will the aukward ribaldry of Mr. TEST prevail with the nation to grow impatient with the perſon he preſumes to diſtinguiſh by the title of doctor, until they have given his medicines a fair trial; or to call in again the ſame harbingers of death, who reduced the nation to her preſent low ſtate, and whoſe want of capacity or honeſty

neſty to attempt a cure, have avariciouſly turned their patients diſeaſe into a profitable annuity.

If the ingenuity or malice of our party ſcribblers can hope to aſſimulate the character of a Gracchus or a Cromwell with the perſon, whom his majeſty and the voice of his country has called to the helm, at this criſis; a little attention to the real ſtate of this country, and the conduct of men at this criſis, might perhaps, on the other hand, ſhew we are in more danger of ſeeing, or feeling a Cæſar or a Catiline. I remember the lively and able hiſtorian, to whom the frequent quotations of Mr. Test direct me, gives me the following portrait of the latter; having firſt deſcribed the Roman ſtate in that degree of corruption and putrefaction, from which theſe monſters ſpring.—It being as true of a body politic as of the human, that they ever owe both their exiſtence and increaſe to the total breaking up of the conſtitution.

"In ſo great and general corruption of manners, Catiline (ſays Salluſt) undertook what it "was no difficult matter to accompliſh; he "collected a number of the worſt and moſt "flagitious men, who attended him like a "troop of banditti: for, whoever was remarkable for his impudence or immorality, whoever had impaired his paternal eſtate by dice, "debauchery, or gluttony, or had involved "himſelf in debt, by borrowing money to buy off "the puniſhment due to his crimes and wickedneſs, compoſed his party.—From all quar-

"ters

" ters alſo did he collect, whoever had commit-
" ted the crimes of parricide and ſacrilege, thoſe
" who were, or feared to be, convicted, and
" whoever lived by the betraying and oppreſſing
" the public. In ſhort, a man whom vice,
" poverty, or an evil conſcience harraſſed, was
" the ſure ally and friend of Catiline :—For
" when it happened that any one fell into his
" ſociety more innocent than was convenient,
" he ſoon became, by his familiarity and tem-
" ptations, as abandoned as his leader ; but
" above all, his principal attention was to en-
" gage the young people, the natural flexibility
" and inadvertency of whoſe ages were eaſily
" circumvented by his addreſs ; whether hunt-
" ing, women, or dice, to whatever their paſ-
" ſions lead them, he joined and procured them
" the means of gratification ; never thinking
" any thing too dear to compleat his point ;
" which was the alienating their affections from
" their country and fixing them to his party."

I WILL purſue this odious character no fur-ther: and only ſay, ſuch was the character of CATILINE !—a worſe citizen there never was, nor ſcarcely ever will be a more dangerous one: except a man ſhould ariſe in a free country with the ſame pernicious qualities and leſs of that indiſcretion and vehemence, which at that time diſcovered Catiline's deſign : for it is certain that notwithſtanding the great vigilance of his cotemporary (Cicero) whom he hated and oppoſed, becauſe his ſucceſsful competitor for the conſulſhip :

ſulſhip: yet could Catiline's precipitate temper have concealed his connections and deſigns, and permitted his military plan to have made the ſame progreſs, which his factious intrigues had done in the city,—Rome had not ſurvived his ſtratagems, nor continued any longer the object of warring factions, and the prize of over-grown men, who had long formed their ambitious proſpects upon the notorious weakneſs of their native country.

THERE is but one rule to judge of the degree of eſtimation, that individuals, in high public ſtations, deſerve from their fellow citizens, which is by an impartial and diſpaſſionate compariſon of their conduct, from their firſt entrance into public life, with the true principles of the conſtitution.—Have they early devoted themſelves to the cauſe of truth, juſtice and liberty? or, have they on the contrary begun by proſtituting themſelves to the moſt unjuſtifiable exceſſes of party? and after having, by ſuch means riſen to a degree of power, from that time have they carried on the ſame partial, ſordid and oppreſſive plan, by tempting the idleneſs of the young, feeding the avarice and pride of the old ſenators? have they honeſtly informed their prince of the true ſtate of his kingdom and the real inclinations of the people, or miſrepreſented their ſufferings and flattered his paſſions? have they ſupported ſuch meaſures, as tend to impoveriſh their country? or, ſteadily maintained not only the letter, but the true ſpirit of its conſtitution;

ſtitution; and in the firſt place conſulted the intereſt, honour, and welfare of their country? or on the contrary, have they ſacrificed theſe ſacred points to the temporary convenience of particular men? and ſubjected the intereſt and happineſs of the commonwealth to foreign projects and foreign ſervices? and laſtly, are the expectations or abilities of the men, who are competitors for power, founded in the weight, which they derive from connections with powerful individuals, and on the dark intrigues of a back ſtairs? or, on the contrary, on the weight they receive from the opinion and public voice of the nation?

In this compariſon it is eaſy to diſcover the dangers to which a ſtate muſt be expoſed under an adminiſtration, whoſe *Primier* played the part of Catiline to his country. What oppreſſion at home! What loſſes abroad! What diſtreſſes muſt always diſquiet the ſovereign and the ſubject, whoſe ſervants attempt to govern by faction; and ſow the ſeeds of government in corruption! What ſecurity can be placed in a power founded upon vice? What confidence to be placed in thoſe, who ſmother truth, and miſrepreſent the true intereſt of their country? Was there ever any ſucceſs in the councils of thoſe, who threw off their natural affection to their mother country, and nouriſhed foreign ſtates with her entrails? Or was it ever known that a miniſter, who acted contrary to the ſentiments of a free nation; was capable of forcing the people into a ſervile ſubmiſſion

miſſion to his dark unconſtitutional intrigues? No! he would find ſuch a powerful ſtand made by the aſſertors of LIBERTY, that neither the ſecret intrigues of a deceived cabinet, nor the open attempts upon the morals of the people, could enſlave that nation, even though he was poſſeſſed of the courage of the lion, the fierceneſs of the tyger, and the ſubtilty of the ſerpent, added to the cunning of the Fox. Our own hiſtory affords examples enough to confirm this aſſertion. A Henry II. an Edward II. a Richard II. are mementos.

How happy is Britain that we are now governed by a king, who has the head and the heart to diſtinguiſh, and to prefer the man that loves his country; that has honeſty to inform his ſovereign of his true intereſt; that has no views but the publick ſafety, and that ſeeks no ſupport but the integrity of his actions. For thereby we may ſoon expect to retrieve the contempt, which has been brought upon this nation by bribery and corruption of morals: the reproach caſt upon our courage by cowardice or bad meaſures: and the diſhonour, which has ſullied the crown, by a weak or wicked miniſtry.

X.

No. 82. SATURDAY, *February* 12, 1757.

Non votis, neque ſuppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur! vigilando, agendo, bene conſulendo proſpere omnia cedunt; ubi ſocordiæ tete atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam deos implores: irati infenſique ſunt.

SAL. ex Catonis Oratione.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

HAVING in conformity to the deſign of the FAST afflicted my ſoul by many deep meditations upon the perilous condition of the nation, and with grief ſurveyed its various cauſes, ſo far as they ſpring from the miſconduct of thoſe, who for many years paſt have ſat at the helm of our affairs, (which reflect ſo much diſhonour upon ourſelves,) I retired in the evening to my bed, to ſeek that reſt in ſweet ſlumbers, which the anxieties of the day could not yield me.

SOON after I was laid, I fell aſleep, and fancied myſelf on a ſudden ſeated in the pew of an ancient church; where was aſſembled a very large congregation conſiſting principally of perſonages of high rank and office; there ſat ſepa-

rate

rate from the reſt, and under a canopy, a venerable old man of a peculiar dreſs and habit, with a large gilt mace ſtuck up near him.

AFTER the office appointed for the day was ended, and we expected that ſolemn harmony which ſprings from a judicious mixture of the organ and pſalmody, our ears on a ſudden were ſaluted with ſo ſweet a ſymphony as mortal ears never heard before: and I obſerved in the whole audience, what I felt in myſelf, the paſſion of fear mingled with pleaſure and ſurprize. There ſhot at the ſame time, through the vaulted edifice, an unuſual light; and a thouſand little winged-beings, like ſo many cupids, ſwam over our heads, and fled about, but ſtill directing their motions around one of ſuperior ſize and majeſty, in the form of a man, not unlike the angel in the ſalutation of the Virgin Mary; ſo that they ſeemed, as ſo many pages, to give a greater power and magnificence to the principal figure.

THIS extraordinary phenomenon ſtartled the whole congregation, and they were in doubt and fear what it might portend: nay, the good doctor himſelf ſat ſculking and trembling in his pew; his band quivered, his ſcarf ruſtled, and he had not courage to mount. Our perplexity, however, laſted not long; for the larger winged-being, contracting his legs and wings, to our further aſtoniſhment, ſhot ſuddenly into the pulpit; the choir at the ſame time continued their aſſiduity; part perching on the ſounding board,

part hovering over it. As he ſtood erect there in full majeſty, decked in raiments of light, which uſually diſtinguiſh the celeſtial meſſengers; after a ſhort pauſe he aſſumed the language of men, and addreſſed the audience in the following benevolent mannner.

I DESCEND, O ye Britons! from the realms of perpetual day into your duſky and groſs atmoſphere, to impart to you a meſſage I received from the great ruler of the world; and I execute this commiſſion with the greater pleaſure, as you have always been the object of my peculiar care and compaſſion, even in times of the greateſt degeneracy. It is many years, I confeſs, ſince I viſited you in this awful and viſible way; not from a dereliction on my part, but from a conſciouſneſs, that the far greater part of you had rendered yourſelves incapable of ſound inſtruction; and I choſe not to upbraid, when it would do you no good. Nevertheleſs, as the calamities, that have lately befallen you, and the perils, which ſtill hang over your heads, have changed the temper of your hearts, and inſpired the moſt daring and corrupt among you, with ſome degree of fear and ſerioufneſs, I am ſpecially delegated to take this favourable ſeaſon to try, whether you are abſolutely incorrigible or not.

KNOW then, that the Almighty, whoſe miniſtring ſpirit I am, is now weighing in his golden ſcales the fate of this iſle, and on which ſide the beam will mount, depends entirely upon your future conduct; your vices are laid

in

in one ſcale, your virtues in the other; and theſe, upon the compariſon, are found ſo light, that nothing has hitherto kept the ſcales even, but the divine mercy and patience: but take heed, my Britons, and tempt not heaven too far. You remember both the ſtory and fate of the impure city; and although you are not yet arrived to that pitch of degeneracy, yet you have made large ſtrides towards it: and ſhould the contagion go on, at the rate of late years; it cannot be long, before you loſe even this laſt hope of your ſecurity.

I MEAN not to addreſs you in your private and perſonal capacities; (that is the office of the inferior genii;) but as ye repreſent, in part, a nation, and are intruſted with the care of the liberty, the property, and proſperity of millions, you belong to my charge, and lie open to my admonitions.

I HAVE lately turned over the grand regiſter of the univerſe, wherein the actions and deſigns of men, both private and public are recorded: and under the head of public tranſgreſſions I found the name of ſeveral perſonages, whom I now behold, written in the blackeſt characters; and although the heart of each of ſuch muſt tell him; "*Thou art the man*;" yet I cannot obſerve in any one of you that ſhame and ſorrow of face, which are the leading ſigns of a ſincere repentance and amendment. Conſider the occaſion, that has now called you together, and to your other provocations add not, on this

ſolemn day, a mockery of heaven, by a contempt of thoſe public, as well as private virtues, upon which its bleſſing and protection depend: if you reſolve for the future to purſue ſuch meaſures as wiſdom, integrity, and a love of your country never failed to ſuggeſt, there is room for you even yet to hope; but if on the contrary you are deaf to my reproofs, and determine at all hazards, to go on in the ſame crooked paths, which many of you have long trod, it muſt in the nature of things, defeat the ends of this day's humiliation; it muſt, according to the courſe and probability of ſecond cauſes, intercept the bleſſings you aſk; the prayers you have juſt offered up, will be turned into imprecations upon your own heads; the Deity inſtead of being pleaſed, will reſent your adulterate devotions;—thus Cato by the light of nature preached; ſhut not then your eyes againſt the light revealed.

THERE was a time, ye Britons, when the love of your country was thought a virtuous and honourable paſſion; there was a time, when the very offer of a bribe would have been reſented as the higheſt affront; there was a time, when the hands of juſtice were long enough to reach the moſt powerful plunderer and betrayer of his country: recall the virtue of thoſe times, and the nation will ſoon reſettle upon its ancient baſis.

REFLECT, ye men of Britain! thoſe of you, I mean, who have ſacrificed the conviction of your own hearts to riches, the God of this world,

world, into what a ſlaviſh condition you have plunged yourſelves; and how diſhoneſt a part you have acted, by forming or concurring in meaſures, that have diſhonoured and impoveriſhed the nation; caſt a blemiſh upon your ſovereign's reign; and which would rob him of the affections of his beſt ſubjects, did not the known purity of his intentions ſupply the antidote: and yet ſo unexampled is your aſſurance, that you are perpetually crying out; "loyalty, loyalty;" and like your great predeceſſor Judas betray with a kiſs.

If I aſſume at this time a more than ordinary liberty of ſpeech, the occaſion will bear me out: and conſider beſides, that I ſpeak by ſpecial order of the Almighty, and in his name, and dare not but deliver theſe bold truths, which have no other end but your own welfare and preſervation. —Should it be replied, to what purpoſe at this time ſuch ſevere reflections? what is done, cannot be undone. But by your leave, my Britons! though paſt moments cannot be recalled, paſt errors may be repeated.—Remember Minorca! remember Oſwego! — let them be eternal monuments of caution, as they are of reproach to ſome of thoſe, who either were employed in their defence, or pretended to plan their preſervation; and from hence learn vigilance, diſpatch, ſounder policy for the future; unleſs you chuſe to be given up as a prey to the enemy.

Revolve ſeriouſly in your breaſts thoſe various evils, which, year after year, have been grow-

ing upon this abuſed nation: the wounds ſhe has received lie deep, and muſt be probed to the bottom, before a radical cure can be effected. Has prodigality and corruption emptied the coffers of the exchequer? what can refill them, but oeconomy and frugality? has cowardice or neglect impaired the glory of the Britiſh flag? what can recover it but bravery and conduct? and theſe virtues will never be wanting, if merit be duly rewarded. Should your enemy once ſee ſuch a change in the adminiſtration of your public affairs, it would ſtrike him with a terror above all the thunder of your fleets: and till this be done, he will ſecretly laugh at and deſpiſe you: till this be done, the greater your preparations againſt him, the ſtronger will be the poiſon you are preparing for yourſelves; and the very means of your preſervation will be the occaſions of your ruin;—

Look through all hiſtory, and ſee if there ever was a nation, like this nation, that did not in the long-run, fall a ſacrifice to its own degeneracy; the ſame cauſes muſt always produce the ſame effects: and if you are determined to perſevere in the ſame meaſures, that have brought ſo much poverty and diſtreſs upon the nation, it will not be in the power even of heaven to ſave you: for heaven only inclines, not forces the will: if you chuſe to be undone, you muſt be undone: there is no remedy.

If no advice, O revolted Britons, is to be received, but as it ſuits the intereſt of a party, or flatters

flatters the diſtemper of the times, it is not your fault, who ſpeak honeſtly; but yours, who reſolve to be deaf to all arguments that diſpleaſe you; and all arguments will diſpleaſe you, that bear hard upon your private intereſt, whilſt you conſider it, as ſeparate and diſtinct from the public good.

If through the ignorance, avarice or ambition of a few; the corrupt compliances of the many; matters are brought to ſuch a paſs, that neceſſity cannot be reconciled to pleaſure and intereſt; you ſhould ſacrifice pleaſure and intereſt to neceſſity; and conforming yourſelves to the nature, condition, and circumſtances of your affairs, act according to what you can; not according to what you would. You have ſtill left in your hands (thank heaven for it!) vaſt reſources; it is yours to rightly apply them. But how can they be rightly applied, unleſs wiſdom, integrity, and diligence preſide at the head of your councils. Imploy in the defence of your country men, who have before proved themſelves in the day of battle; and ſhould the number be found deficient, let others have the preference, whoſe reputations and principles are unblemiſhed: and amidſt other reformations let this maxim be uppermoſt in your minds, that *the public treaſure is ſacred to the public uſe*; and that it is the duty of a miniſter, not only to have clean hands himſelf, but to guard as far as is poſſible, againſt the ſacrilege of thoſe wretches,

whom nothing but fear can keep honeſt. Such meaſures will not only do honour to a miniſtry, but enſure its ſtability; as the voice of a nation will be always on its ſide: and the ſavings from hence will make ſuch addition to the ordinary ſupplies, as will enable you to carry on the war, till the enemy be wearied out; without ſuch accumulation of taxes, as the people cannot long ſtand under.

You have been peſtered, long peſtered; O ye unhappy people! by a vile race of hypocrites, ſlaves, and ſycophants, who dare not open their mouths, till they have learnt their leſſons; till they have ſervilely inquired, what they ſhall ſay; what propoſe; what vote; and in what they ſhall make themſelves agreeable: in a word, ſhould the joint act of the many, be nothing but the whiſper of a few behind the curtain; and ſhould you beſpeak, as it were, your own chains; what can be expected; but that your debates will be corrupt; your councils ineffectual; your reputation blaſted; and diſgrace heaped upon diſgrace? whilſt many of theſe abandoned devotees would flouriſh and grow great by your country's ruin.

WERE the evils, that have been brought upon you, and the perils ſtill impending, to fall only upon the heads of thoſe, who have been the authors of them, I ſhould have ſpared myſelf the diſagreeable taſk of thus publickly expoſing and reproving you; I ſhould have left them to eat the bitter fruits of their own ill doings: but when I reflect upon the hard lot of the worthy part

part of the nation; when thouſands of innocent perſons muſt be involved in the general calamity; when thoſe worthy patriots, who endeavoured to ſave their country, muſt be equal ſufferers with thoſe, who for filthy lucre ſake, have abuſed and betrayed it; I feel a mixture of pity and indignation working in my heart; pity towards thoſe; indignation towards thoſe, who have baniſhed from their ſouls every generous ſentiment.

CONSIDER, ye thoughtleſs people, by what a fatal policy things have been ſo managed, as to make it ſeem neceſſary to ſome, and prudent to others, to import foreign troops, at a vaſt diſtance and at a vaſt expence (to which your preſent circumſtances are ill proportioned;) to guard againſt the invaſion of the enemy, and to perform for you that duty, which you ought and are able to perform for yourſelves. I mean no reflection upon them; but I would provoke you, if poſſible, not to reſign to ſtrangers thoſe opportunities of gaining your eſteem, which might have been made uſe of to entitle you to theirs; nor to renounce and abandon, as you have done, that reputation for arms, which you inherited of your anceſtors, and which was purchaſed for you with ſo much toil, hazard and glory.

THIS, O men of Britain! is what I had in charge to impart to you: may heaven inſpire you for the future to purſue ſuch meaſures, as ſhall ſeem moſt expedient for the preſervation, proſperity

proſperity and glory of your country; and *let all the people ſay*.—AMEN.

WHEN the celeſtial teacher had finiſhed his diſcourſe, he flew immediately out of the pulpit; and his duteous train hovering around him as before, they ſailed about in the air for a few moments; chanting a hymn to the immortal king of heaven and earth, in ſuch ſweet ſtrains, as angels alone can ſing, and which mortal ears can hardly endure: when this was ended, the whole viſion vaniſhed in a moment, and I awaked; the divine ſymphony ſtill faintly ſhrilling in my ears. Should you apprehend Mr. Freeholder, that this SERMON may be as edifying to your readers, as ſome others that may be publiſhed upon the preſent occaſion, you are at liberty to impart it.

D.

No. 83. SATURDAY, *February* 19, 1757.

When the Righteous are in authority, the people rejoice: but when the Wicked beareth rule, the people mourn. PROV. xxix. ver. 2.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT has been remarked, that the puniſhment of individuals is generally reſerved to the other world, but that of nations always confined to

this. In the latter caſe, the Almighty frequently makes uſe of one wicked people to puniſh another equally wicked. The moſt deſpicable creatures often become the inſtruments of his avenging hand. I have read of an iſland depopulated by an innumerable ſwarm of locuſts, whoſe ravages have forced the inhabitants to forſake their native ſoil, and ſeek for bread in other countries. On ſome occaſions, unkindly ſeaſons have cauſed the fruits of the earth to fail, and introduced a general famine: in others, impetuous rains and ſudden inundations have ſwept away entire harveſts, or continued droughts burnt up the corn, before it came to maturity. Earthquakes have buried whole cities; and not ſeldom the devouring peſtilence has ſpread wide its baleful influence.

THESE, it muſt be owned, are dreadful tokens of divine diſpleaſure; but neither theſe, nor any other of the numberleſs methods, which providence makes uſe of, to chaſtiſe a profligate and abandoned people, can be compared to that of giving them up to the conduct of a weak and corrupt miniſtry. No calamity, recorded in hiſtory, ſo evidently denotes, how irritated the Almighty is with a nation, as when he ſuffers the throne to be ſurrounded with evil counſellors, and permits thoſe, who ought to be the guardians and protectors of religion, liberty, and virtue, to become the patrons of impiety, the promoters of vice and immorality: which have been, and ever will be, the bane of the mightieſt and beſt

con-

conſtituted governments, and naturally tend to ſlavery and ruin. This without diſpute, is the ſharpeſt ſcourge of heaven, a complicated ſcene of horrors, attended with far dreadfuller conſequences, than all the deſolations of war, than the ravages of locuſts, famine, or earthquakes, or even thoſe of the raging peſtilence. Such miniſters, whom God, in his exceeding wrath, ſuffers to take the reins of government, make it their perpetual ſtudy, not only to deſtroy the people's liberty, but even to render them unworthy of it; by ſo far corrupting their principles and debauching their morals, that being grown by degrees, as inſenſible to national glory, as to every private virtue, they may at length become ripe for ſlavery, nay even enamoured with their fetters.

LET a prince be ever ſo wickedly inclined, yet if he has wiſe and honeſt counſellors, (which, though rare, has ſometimes happened) the effects can never be ſo fatal to a nation, as when a good prince is beſet by fooliſh and wicked ones; by a junto of crafty ſycophants; a combination of public incendiaries and robbers; ſhamefully abuſing the authority of their maſter, and giving flagrant proofs, that they have as little regard to his dignity, as to that of their country; both which they would ſacrifice to their own ſordid views; who, with hearts more malignant than that of Machiavel, and head-pieces ſcarce equal to exerciſe the office of a petty conſtable, had the confidence to take upon themſelves the ſole manage-

management of affairs, which required the ſtricteſt probity as well as the moſt conſummate abilities; and would have left the nation involved in ſuch inextricable difficulties, that the child yet unborn, might have had reaſon to curſe the effects of their blunders and treachery: who, by their artful inſinuations and malicious calumnies, have cauſed the father of his people, (a prince, too humane and benevolent, to turn a deaf ear to the meaneſt ſupplicant) to appear almoſt regardleſs of the cries of a whole nation.

I muſt here beg leave to quote a ſhort paſſage from Comines, which, though to ſome perhaps it may appear a little too ſerious, will not, I am perſuaded, be thought impertinent by the generality of your readers. This honeſt hiſtorian, diſcourſing of thoſe arbitrary miniſters, who have raiſed themſelves on the ruin of their country, ſubjoins the following religious reflection: 'I 'aſked this queſtion before, who will inform 'againſt theſe great perſons? Who will accuſe 'them to the judge? Or what judge will puniſh 'them? The information againſt them, ſhall be 'the cries and clamours of the people, whom 'they have injured and oppreſſed ſo many ways, 'without the leaſt pity and compaſſion. The 'doleful complaints of widows and orphans; 'and, in ſhort, the lamentations of all thoſe, 'whom they have ſo cruelly perſecuted; theſe, 'I ſay, with their tears, their ſighs and groans, 'ſhall draw up an information againſt them, 'and preſent the ſame to our SAVIOUR, the im-

'partial

'partial judge of mankind, who perhaps will 'not defer their puniſhment till the next world, 'but do them juſtice in this.'

Our own experience, as well as the annals of paſt ages inform us, that thoſe national ſighs and groans, which always force their way to heaven, and never fail being graciouſly attended to by the Sovereign Lord of the univerſe, were ſeldom ſtrong enough to make any impreſſion on the ears, or even to gain acceſs to the throne of earthly princes, till the eccho grew ſo loud and univerſal, that it was impoſſible for the deafeſt ear, not to perceive the voice of God, in that of the people. How juſtly may this be applied to the preſent times, when thoſe public grievances, which had long cried aloud to heaven, and ſeemed reſerved for that tribunal, where is no reſpect of perſons, have at length brought down the divine vengeance on the authors of our diſtreſſes? the bitter ſighs of the people, who had long mourned in the anguiſh of their ſouls, have at length reached the throne; nor will God's vicegerent ſhelter the exalted criminals from the iron hand of juſtice, which already begins to purſue them. Methinks I hear the venerable monarch thundering out to the pale dejected wretches: 'Ye execrable politicians! who have done your 'utmoſt to alienate the hearts of my faithful 'people, and to bring my hoary hairs with ſor-'row to the grave! who have had the infernal 'art to turn every bleſſing into a curſe; to make 'the people ſtarve amidſt plenty, and feel the

'effects

'effects of extreme poverty, amidſt immenſe 'riches! who have laviſhed away millions to 'no manner of purpoſe, or to purpoſes worſe 'than nothing, and been ſordidly ſparing, where 'the very being of the nation was at ſtake! 'and, whilſt from its natural ſtrength and ſitua-'tion, its naval force and a well-regulated mi-'litia, with every other additional advantage 'that the happieſt people ever enjoyed, Britain 'might have commanded reſpect and homage 'from every ſtate in Europe, have ye not re-'duced it to ſo low and abject a condition, that 'tis now become their ſcorn and mockery, even 'to a proverb? *Now, as the Lord liveth, and 'my ſoul liveth, I will be avenged of you for 'theſe things; nor ſhall ye deſcend to the grave 'in peace.*'

WHEN the Romans were invaded by Hannibal, and ſaw ſo dreadful an enemy in the heart of their country, their own forces defeated at Cannæ, and ſcarce the leaſt reſource left; did the ſenate give all over for loſt? No: inſtead of being diſpirited, though on the brink of ruin, it came to this noble reſolution; That the commonwealth was never to be deſpaired of: in conſequence of which, it armed the ſcattered remains of the people, made a glorious ſtand, and ſoon routed their conquerors. Our Britiſh Machiavels, on the contrary, at a time, when our forces were entire, and ſufficient reſources left, in caſe of accident, with the wide barrier of the ſea between us and the enemy, which rendered

rendered a ſudden irruption impracticable, filled every thing with terror and conſternation, at the bare rumour of an invaſion, which in all probability was never intended. By their puſillanimous example, a nation, famed for martial ardour; a nation that has frequently ſhed its blood in defence of its neighbours liberty, as well as its own, was taught to tremble, like an aſpen-leaf, at the empty menaces, the very name of a diſtant and often-conquered enemy. The queen of iſlands put no confidence in her floating caſtles, ſo lately the dread of her perfidious rivals; and, inſtead of arming her own ſons, was forced, through the infamous councils of theſe men, to ſue to foreigners for protection.

When the French began to make encroachments on our colonies, in manifeſt breach of the ſolemneſt treaties; would not any other miniſters have paid ſome ſmall regard to the inceſſant remonſtrances of our brave unfortunate countrymen, who, with a very moderate aſſiſtance could have eaſily repelled the firſt attacks, and thereby quenched that flame, which is now like to end in a general conflagration? Would any other miniſters, but ſuch as theſe, have loſt a moment's time, and much leſs years together, in idle ridiculous negociations, whilſt that faithleſs court, mocking at our credulity, and expoſing us to the contempt of all Europe, was continually tranſporting freſh forces, and committing freſh depredations on the diſtreſſed

Americans,

Americans, who bewailed in tears of blood; the little notice taken of them by their mother-country? Had only a ſcanty pittance of thoſe prodigious ſums, which have been ſo wantonly ſquandered away in corrupting the people, or glutting the luſt and avarice of their corruptors, been ſeaſonably applied to the ſuccour of thoſe, who were ſo juſtly entitled to it, how many millions would it have ſaved to this harraſſed and impoveriſhed nation? And, when our excellent managers found out, that the French were reſolved to keep on no terms with us; would not a vigorous effort on the ſcene of contention have prevented them from taking thoſe ſteps, which this court has made ſo ſpecious an handle of; not only for the invading of Minorca, but prejudicing every power in Europe againſt us; inſomuch that thoſe, who once courted our alliance, having as ſlender an opinion of our courage as of our politics, now diſregard our ſolicitations, or rejoice at our misfortunes.

When the clamour grew ſo loud at home, that it was at length judged neceſſary to ſend over Lord Loudon with forces and ammunition; what could have induced the directors of this tardy expedition, to diſtribute the various implements of war with ſuch wondrous ſagacity; that, had any ſingle veſſel miſcarried, either by falling into the enemy's hands, or from accidents at ſea, (which any one of common ſenſe might have eaſily foreſeen) every thing elſe on board the other veſſels would have become entirely

uſeleſs. This egregious blunder, 'tis true, a blunder that might have proved ſo fatal, was luckily diſcovered, and rectified by his lordſhip a little before he ſailed. But the good effects which might have been expected from this chance-diſcovery, were almoſt totally fruſtrated, by a previous order ſent to the Americans, (who had united their forces, and could at leaſt have retarded the enemy's progreſs) not to ſtrike a ſtroke till his arrival: which ſeems juſt as cunning, as if a man who had an houſe at Norwich on fire, which his own ſervants could hinder from ſpreading, ſhould receive orders, not to let them ſtir a finger, till a company of firemen had arrived from London. Lord Loudon, in ſhort, after a tedious paſſage, landed in America; but Oſwego was already taken.

WHEN we had been ſo long alarmed with the intended invaſion of Minorca, would not any miniſters, but ſuch as theſe, have immediately ſent out a powerful fleet, to prevent the enemy's landing? and when through their unparallelled negligence, all Europe ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, not only the enemy ſuffered to land without oppoſition, but St. Philip's actually inveſted; was there not, even then, a reaſonable proſpect of ſaving the place, had timely ſuccour been ſent; or, had the fleet, with all its unneceſſary delays and embaraſſments, been entruſted to a commander of tried courage and virtue; to one, who dared to die in the ſervice of his country? was there not a ſingle officer to

be

be found, in the whole Britiſh navy, (and many ſuch, I hope, there are) who might, by his intrepid behaviour, have prevented the loſs of that important fortreſs, and, which is far more to be regretted, the loſs of our reputation? but the great diſpoſer of events, provoked at our enormities, fought againſt us; or rather, as the higheſt mark of his diſpleaſure, left us to ourſelves: and when the hoſtile ſquadron appeared, acknowledged inferior to ours; when certain victory ſeemed to declare for us, and it was time for immediate action, and not for idle debates; timerous councils prevailed, and national welfare gave way to perſonal ſafety. It was at this favourable juncture, that a place which had coſt us ſo much blood and treaſure, of ſuch infinite conſequence to our commerce, and ſo gallantly defended, was ſhamefully deſerted and given up a prey to the inſulting foe, whoſe hearts began to fail, at the very ſight of our fleet; a fleet allowed by every one to have had at leaſt treble the force of that, wherewith the rough, the brave, the honeſt, the diſcarded VERNON attacked and took Porto Bello. Will the laurels our anceſtors gained at Creſſy and Agincourt, will the glorious victories of Blenheim and Ramillies, will all our maritime triumphs, whether ancient or modern, make amends for this national diſgrace? to what end does the record of ſuch exploits ſerve, but to convince our rivals, how much we are degenerated from our forefathers? how much, even we of this degenerate

age, are ſunk below ourſelves.

In a word, that the evils here enumerated, with numberleſs others, both at home and abroad, are entirely owing to the inexcuſable ſupineneſs, and groſs ſtupidity, or to the ſiniſter deſign and treachery of the late adminiſtration; that theſe are the genuine ſentiments and united voice of the whole nation; and that the people, rouſed up at length from the fatal lethargy they had been thrown in, expect and inſiſt that the authors of their calamities ſhould be brought to public juſtice; let the numerous addreſſes and inſtructions, from every quarter of the kingdom, witneſs. In vain do the betrayers of their country, the ſworn foes to liberty and virtue, endeavour to ſcreen themſelves from the royal indignation, and the reſentment of an injured people, by ſtileing theſe remonſtrances marks of diſloyalty and ſedition; ſince every addreſs and inſtruction, though couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, is an irrefragable proof, that they are as ſenſible of the wrongs done to their ſovereign, as to themſelves; and whilſt ſo many millions cry aloud for vengeance on the heads of their oppreſſors, all unanimouſly join, in expreſſing the ſincereſt affection for his ſacred perſon, and the moſt inviolable attachment to his illuſtrious family.

Every addreſs and inſtruction will remain an eternal monument, that, as no miniſtry was ever equally deteſted; ſo no prince on the Britiſh throne was ever equally beloved. And let me add, notwithſtanding the gloomy proſpect

of

of our affairs, the nation already begins to feel the happy effects of the ſo long wiſhed for change; for where wicked counſellors are driven from the throne, and the righteous are in authority, the people will rejoice, and flatter themſelves, that his majeſty though in the decline of life, may be able to ſtrike terror into his enemies, and live to raiſe the glory of Britain, beyond any of his royal predeceſſors.

A. Z.

No. 84. SATURDAY, *February* 26, 1757.

Ye blind guides, which ſtrain at a gnat and ſwallow a camel.—Ye outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocriſy and iniquity.

MATT. xxiii. 24, 28.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

I HAVE ſeen handed about a copy of a petition, ſigned by certain MINISTERS of the *Preſbyterian*, *Independant*, and *Anabaptiſt* denominations, in behalf of themſelves and their brethren; and ſaid to be preſented to the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, againſt that part of the militia-bill now depending in that houſe; where it directs the *exerciſe*

of the national militia to be performed in the church-yard of every parish-church, *after* evening ſervice on the *Lord's Day*, commonly called *Sunday*.

In this petition they ſet forth, that ſuch a practice would be *contrary* to the *divine* command: that they apprehend all exerciſes on that day, muſt have a *tendency* to *prevent* its obſervation, and to introduce *ſecular* labour, *irregularities* and *exceſſes* on that day, under the perverted and abuſed authority of parliament: that they *tremble* at the thoughts of thoſe *national judgments*, which they apprehend, will be drawn upon us by *ſuch* a law: that it will be *impoſſible* for the *Diſſenters* in the country to attend the *exerciſe*, on account of the *great diſtances* from their places of worſhip to their places of exerciſe: and that to make them *liable to penalties* for their nonattendance, and not doing that by a *ſubſtitute*, which they think *unlawful* to do *themſelves*, would be puniſhing them for *conſcience ſake*: or for doing what they cannot do without neglecting *that worſhip* which is dearer to them than any *worldly concern*; concluding their prayer, with declaring that they are influenced in this petition *ſolely* by their regard to GOD's honour, the intereſt of *religion*, and the laſting welfare and happineſs of their *country*.

A petition of a moſt extraordinary nature! and, if imprudently ſupported by the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, will give us too much reaſon

reaſon to apply the motto, and aſk with Juvenal:

——O pater urbis!
Unde nefas tantum Latiis paſtoribus?
Lib. I. Sat. 2.

THERE are a ſort of men, who, meddling in ſtate-affairs, have, under the *Shibboleth* of GOD's worſhip, brought, in all ages, the greateſt part of the confuſions and calamities upon the kingdoms and empires:

Mark the whole chain of public woes, *you'll find*
The laſt link ſtill to the Prieſt's girdle *join'd.*
TATE.

THIS was the reaſon why the Heathens never admitted their divines to the public adminiſtration of the temporal affairs of the commonwealth. The want of this caution in other ſtates was the cauſe of the troubles fomented againſt David by Abiathar, the high-prieſt conſpiring with the diſaffected and diſguſted part of the Jewiſh nation to prevent the king's known will and pleaſure, thereby to put the kingdom in a flame: gave riſe to the ſchiſmatical conventicle erected by Manaſſes on Mount Gerizim for the Jewiſh Diſſenters: and opened a door to the uſurpation of the Phariſees, who under a pretence of greater knowledge of the ſpirit of the law, and of more ſanctity than their brethren, wound themſelves ſo much into the favour of the people, that they bearded the high-prieſt himſelf, and encroached ſo far upon the civil power, that they became formidable to

ſovereigns, and reduced them to a neceſſity of complying with their advice and dictates, if they hoped to reign peaceably and long: whoſe falſe zeal and bigotted reſolution at laſt drew down the vengeance of heaven upon their religion and country.

How the like ſpirit tranſmigrated into the Chriſtian zealots, every age almoſt affords examples. The celebrated Chryſoſtom brandiſhed his golden eloquence with that extravagant liberty about ſtate affairs, that he brought on his own head an accuſation of high treaſon, for which he died in exile. Whole countries were laid waſte, and millions of lives were ſacrificed to the paſſions of a party for the ſake of a ſingle *iota*, that makes the difference between *Homoiouſion* and *Homoouſion*: and it is very probable that the deſtruction of the weſtern empire was the effect of that zeal without knowledge, which pretended to a more perfect way of worſhip, and ſacrificed their country and religion to their own inventions.

Our own nation has often felt the bad effects of eccleſiaſtical power in civil matters: to this was aſcribed the murder of King Edwin; the rebellions in the reign of Rufus, K. John, Hen. III. Edw. II. Hen. IV. *&c.*

God had no ſooner delivered this nation from the tyranny and ſuperſtition of Rome, but the devil blew up the coals of national diſſention by the artifice of thoſe, who pleaded *conſcience* in oppoſition to King Edward's laws for confirming the

the peace and unity of the church, and ſecuring the realm againſt invaſion and rebellion. Elizabeth's reign ſuffered more from the intermixture of ſpiritual and ſecular power than from any other cauſe; and the toleration, which the neceſſity of thoſe times obliged the ſtate to give to them, who pleaded *conſcience* againſt the meaſures of government, became the unhappy original of all ſchiſms and diviſions that have diſturbed both church and ſtate ever ſince. From thence iſſued out that ſwarm of ſectaries, which overthrew the conſtitution both of church and ſtate, and which now are united, not in principle or doctrine, nor in forms of worſhip, but in a political capacity, by the name of Diſſenters of the *three* denominations, that they in this view may add the greater weight to their remonſtrances and petitions, and not to approve themſelves better Chriſtians and ſubjects.

Is it not amazing boldneſs for men, who are *not united* in opinion concerning what day of the week ought to be kept holy unto the Lord, to object againſt an exerciſe neceſſary for the ſupport of the civil government, on the *firſt day of the week?* may not the *Sabbatarian Baptiſts*, who are zealous for the Jewiſh obſervance of the SEVENTH day, claim the privilege of toleration, as part of the three denominations? are not their conſciences as tender as thoſe of their brethren within the three denominations? ſhall the late ſupplicants for toleration take upon them to dictate to the wiſdom of the nation, aſſembled

in parliament, in matters of eternal obligation? can they, who, if they were hungry, would not ſcruple to pluck the ears of corn; nor to help to ſave the life of a beaſt on the Sabbath Day, accuſe them of a breach of the divine command who exerciſe in the militia on the Lord's Day, for the defence of our laws, liberty, religion, lives and property, againſt foreign and domeſtic foes? is it lawful to ſell *milk* and *mackerel* on Sundays, becauſe they are periſhable; and ſhall the handling of a *muſket* in order to preſerve the whole nation from deſtruction, be a crime? is it more criminal in the eye of the Almighty to *prepare* for a battle, than to *withſtand* the enemy on the Lord's Day? and yet, I dare ſay, none of the petitioners will alledge, that ſelf-defence on that day is contrary to the divine command. Beſides *the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.* Acts of mercy, juſtice, and neceſſity are not forbidden on the Lord's Day: and the Diſſenters, who get in their harveſt, and receive pay for their labour, in fitting out fleets, purſuing the enemy, and ſurveying the revenue on the Lord's Day, muſt be aſhamed of this petition.

How far a military exerciſe under the intended regulation can tend to the introducing ſecular labour, irregularities and exceſſes, is beyond my capacity to conceive. Does this bill propoſe to repeal the obſervation of the Sabbath? or make void thoſe laws, which are now in force for keeping the Lord's Day holy? if not; all inſinu-

ations about perverting and abuſing ſuch an act, as is propoſed, have no foundation. The preſent laws will lie againſt every one that imploys himſelf on the Lord's Day in ſecular labours, and indulges himſelf in irregularities and exceſſes, which are offenſive to God: and even againſt the militia-men, if they attempt to pervert or abuſe the authority of Parliament.

THIS regulation will be ſo far from prophaning the Lord's Day, that it manifeſtly tends to a more religious obſervation thereof. It would be a means to remove that public nuſance of drunkenneſs and rioting, with which every village in the kingdom is now infected, and draw many to church, who now ſpend the Sabbath in irregularities and exceſſes. Of which theſe petitioners might be more particularly informed by their proteſtant brethren at Geneva, Berne, and other parts of Switzerland: where the neceſſary military exerciſe, and the worſhip of God, go conſtantly hand in hand, and promote and ſtrengthen each other.

IRREGULARITIES and exceſſes, which are offenſive to God, muſt certainly haſten national judgments; and we all ought to tremble at the thoughts thereof. But are we to ſhew our zeal for the cauſe of God, by trembling at imaginary offences and judgments, and remain inſenſible of real crimes, which have already provoked the Almighty? it ill becomes thoſe, who, by their ſchiſm from the eſtabliſhed church, and diviſions among themſelves, have opened a door

for

for the diſturbers of chriſtian peace and the unity of faith, and provided a ſhelter for the moſt extravagant phrenzies of enthuſiaſtic brains, to claim a more ſincere regard for the divine command. Nothing can be more inconſiſtent, than for a people wrapt up in terrible apprehenſions for what may or may not come to paſs, and do nothing to convince us of their ſincerity in the cauſe of God and their country: but buſy themſelves in widening the breaches, which have been made by the iniquity of the times, and by the devices of artful and wicked men, both in church and ſtate. Or, can THEY be admitted to plead in behalf of God and their country, who have been the chief vehicles of that poiſon, which for many years influenced the elections and councils of this realm in prejudice to virtue and liberty? and whoſe conventicles, in the very metropolis of the nation, are always open to the abettors of corruption and venality? when they ſhall have humbled themſelves for thoſe irregularities and exceſſes, that have already brought on national judgments: when they diſcover a real diſpoſition towards peace and unity with the national church: when they by a ready and vigorous concurrence with thoſe, who endeavour to appeaſe God's wrath, and to ſave the nation by honeſt and prudent meaſures, give tokens of repentance and of their abhorrence and deteſtation, of the ſcene of iniquity to which they have been acceſſary, under the influence and direction of men, who, not content to cor-

rupt

rupt the morals of the people, and to root out Chriſtianity by tolerating Judaiſm, contrived means to prevent the increaſe of the people, and thereby to deprive the nation of its defence; then it will be time enough to plead conſcience. Men, whoſe conſciences could not awaken them to exert a Chriſtian zeal againſt meaſures thus deſtructive of religion and liberty, will find it very hard to gain any credit in their dread for the evil tendency of exerciſing the militia on the Lord's Day. It is more likely to create a ſuſpicion, that the ſpirit of diſſention, confuſion, and ruin, has ſo far poſſeſſed them, that under the cloak of godlineſs, they are attempting to deprive the nation, and the proteſtant intereſt, of the moſt effectual defence againſt the enemies of the goſpel, and of our country.

A SUSPICION but too well grounded, as will appear from the ſequel of this unprecedented piece.—Is it not an unparalleled aſſurance for a ſociety of people, who for a ſeat in parliament, or on a bench of juſtice, or at the board of cuſtoms, exciſe, &c. and even for a place of thirty pounds a year paid by the public, are ready to conform, or at leaſt to receive the ſacrament in the church of England; and yet, when the public intereſt requires their aſſiſtance; when the public ſafety is endangered by their abſence; they are the firſt that make a ſcruple to be abſent from their conventicles, on a Sunday afternoon, and to ſerve GOD at church on the day that the wiſdom of the nation ſhall appoint

to diſcipline thoſe, that are able to bear arms; is it not evident that they would eat the bread of idleneſs; that they are always greedy to ſuck the rich juices of the ſtate; but would not aſſiſt it in time of diſtreſs with one of their fingers? Is their conſcience a bar to their ſerving of their country in a military capacity; and no hindrance to their advancement to places of profit? Is it not flying abſolutely in the face of that government, by whoſe indulgence they enjoy liberty of conſcience, to impeach it of an attempt to enact a law contrary to a divine command? is it not threatning the legiſlature with reſiſtance or contempt of its power, ſhould its reſolutions claſh with a preciſe, obſtinate and contumacious ſectary's opinion and inclination to go ſeven miles to idolize a butcher, a taylor, or a cobler trumpetting falſe doctrine, ſedition, and blaſphemy? what can be thought of the loyalty and religion of ſubjects, who have the confidence to appear by their deputies before the great council of the nation in parliament aſſembled, and declare that there is *no worldly concern*, meaning the neceſſary defence of the nation, ſo *dear to* THEM, as this uncontrouled liberty, on a Sunday afternoon; and inſtead of being mindful of that lenity with which Diſſenters of all denominations are treated under the preſent eſtabliſhment, forget the duty of Chriſtians to the powers that are in being; and with the ingratitude of the ſerpent attempt to bite them, who have been ſo miſtaken as to take them into their boſom.

THESE, Mr. MONITOR! are a few of the many reflections ſuggeſted at the firſt ſight of the petition; which is preſented in the name of a people, who *ſtrain at a gnat, and ſwallow a camel*; —who outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within are full of hypocriſy and iniquity: who under aſſurances of being influenced ſolely by GOD's honour, the intereſt of religion, and the laſting welfare and happineſs of our country; proſtitute the divine command of keeping holy the Sabbath-Day, to overthrow the *ſole* effectual means, under GOD, to preſerve the nation from ruin; and for the enjoyment of the liberty to ſit an hour in a conventicle, are ready to reject the councils and commands of the whole legiſlature.

SUCH are the effects of the act of toleration! the ſtateſman, who, like Gallio, cared not for the peace of the church, may now ſee, church-government was not the only object of the Separatiſts, when they obtained a full exerciſe of their own doctrines: they upon the firſt opportunity appear at the head of a faction to dictate to the national government; diſcover a remnant of that ſpirit, which in the laſt century ſubverted our conſtitution; and threaten us with GOD's judgments, in caſe their petition is not granted, to excuſe them from a meaſure, which does not interfere with GOD's worſhip, nor deviate from the practice of the Proteſtant Churches; and which, if put off to another day, muſt greatly affect the labourer and artificer, and load the

kingdom

kingdom with an extraordinary charge of almoſt one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*; which is a ſum too exorbitant for the reſt of the nation to pay, for no other conſideration than to indulge a ſet of men, whoſe diſtinguiſhing principles are levelled againſt decency in the church and monarchial government. If their zeal is virtuous; if God and true religion; if their king and country; if conſcience and an unfeigned piety are their *ſole* motives for this petition, let the body of Diſſenters either reject all intereſt in places of profit and truſt under the government; and all occaſional conformity for the ſake of power and riches: or let them ſubmit to a tax, which the ſtate may find needful, to defray the extraordinary expence, neceſſarily attending the exerciſe of a national militia on any other day of the week.

Z.

No. 85. SATURDAY, *March* 5, 1757.

They have imagined craftily againſt thy people: and taken counſel againſt thy ſecret ones. They have ſaid, come and let us root them out, that they be no more a people, and that the name of Iſrael may be no more in remembrance. For they caſt their heads together with one conſent, and are confederate againſt thee. But the Lord is our refuge: He ſhall recompenſe them their wickedneſs, and deſtroy them in their own malice; yea the Lord our God ſhall deſtroy them.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

I AM deeply affected with the loſſes and diſgrace this nation hath ſuſtained by the conduct of men, who have brought an inglorious ſtain on the reign of the beſt of Kings;—and I hope the inquiſition of the great council of the nation now ſitting, will trace them through all their ſecret windings, diſguiſes, and dark tranſactions; and ferret them out of all their doublings and falſe pretences or coverings; notwithſtanding their cunning and crafty proceedings, and their boaſted connections to protect them, either

againſt an enquiry into the iniquity of their ad——n; or, if this on account of the cry of a moſt injured and abuſed nation is impoſſible, to procure their pardon.

If this ſhould be the caſe; ſhould men, who are the objects of a juſt national reſentment, eſcape puniſhment; — yet let them remember, that there is a being, whoſe all-ſearching eye they cannot eſcape, and unto whom all their hidden myſterious ſcenes of iniquity lie open, and are perfectly known; and from whoſe tribunal, all their plundering wealth and factious connections cannot ſave them.

BUT, what at preſent ought to awaken our care and utmoſt attention, is that general extravagance, corruption, and venality, with almoſt ~~every vice~~ deſtructive to ſociety, which run thro' the whole nation: particularly the lower ſort are ſo infected, that it fills every conſiderate man, every well-wiſher to his country, with unfeigned ſorrow and real grief; eſpecially at this time, when *frugality*, *ſobriety*, and *induſtry* are abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the diſſolution of the ſtate.

THERE is ſo general a licentiouſneſs prevailing amongſt the lower rank of people,—ſuch a ſpirit of drunkenneſs and debauchery,—ſuch a mutinous ſpirit, ready to take advantage of our national misfortunes, to be idle and to live on plundering the honeſt farmer; as thoſe many riſings and the great waſte committed by them in all places witneſs: that, if a ſtop be not immediate-

by put thereto, by ſome wiſe law, and proper regulations duly executed, this nation without a foreign enemy muſt be utterly ruined.—It is ſeverely felt, that corn is dear: but this, I hope, is not owing to the combinations of farmers to keep up the price of corn; but to bad harveſts, and to the high prices paid to the harveſt people, and to the high wages a farmer is obliged to pay for ſervants. Shall then the farmer, who deſerves the utmoſt protection of the government, be robbed of his property, and daily inſulted with threats from a vagabond rabble, becauſe he cannot afford to ſell his goods as cheap as the lawleſs crew, wallowing in idleneſs and drunkenneſs would have? Do we not ſee every alehouſe and gin-ſhop full of theſe men ſpending their money, which ought to buy neceſſaries for themſelves and families, in drunkenneſs? Do we not ſee in every beggarly village, the labouring-man's wife ſpending more money at one breakfaſt in tea and ſpirituous liquors, than would buy bread and milk ſufficient to ſerve a family a whole day? Hence our villages abound with drunkards, whoſe children are weak, ſickly, and half-boiled before they are born; when reared, are unfit or unwilling to ſerve, and are brought up in lying, whoring, pilfering, and idleneſs. And from this obſervation it is eaſy to account, why notwithſtanding the great reward offered by his majeſty to all, who ſhall enter into the fleet or army, how few have accepted that offer. And it ſhews, that the mutinous diſpoſitions, diſcovered in the ſeveral riſings, proceed from wantonneſs and the want of

a proper ſubjection, which makes them head-ſtrong; and that rather than by work, ſobriety, and frugality procure the neceſſaries of life, they would live idle, and plunder the laborious part of mankind. There is no nation on earth where the common people and ſervants are ſo inſolent, audacious, idle and drunken as in this; and whilſt we are afraid of becoming ſlaves to a foreign enemy, and of reducing ourſelves to beggary for the preventing ſo great an evil, we are in immediate and imminent danger of being the ſlaves to the vileſt of all ſlaves, a vicious, drunken, extravagant mob, and our ſervants.

Now what is it, that makes theſe people ſo daring and inſolent? do they not preſume on the defenceleſs condition we are in? do they not ſee, have experienced; and know, that our *regular* troops cannot be in all places; nor have been able to protect the induſtrious farmer from being robbed and ſpoiled? are then the induſtrious ſober part of mankind to be left a prey to the vileſt of people?—yet ſuch is actually our preſent ſituation; and what may we not dread from this outrageous crew, ſhould it pleaſe providence to afflict us (as, conſidering the bad condition the land was ſown in, may happen) with a worſe harveſt...

CONSIDER then,—ſeriouſly conſider,—what can be the real deſign of men, who to the utmoſt of their power, have, and ſtill do obſtruct the forming a *militia*.—Not, as theſe men in every proſtitute news-paper intimate, choſen out

of the dregs of the people; but out of the freeholders, land-owners, ſubſtantial farmers, and other perſons of ſome property; the former of theſe having, by their votes for members, at leaſt the appearance of a ſhare in the legiſlative power, and have property and liberty to defend. We read of many nations, who, when conquered, rather than reſign their arms, and be left in a defenceleſs condition to the mercy of their conquerors, have deſtroyed their wives, their children, their houſes and themſelves; theſe men's notions of liberty were (what every man's, who is not by diſpoſition a ſlave, muſt be) that it conſiſteth *in having a power of defending ourſelves*—To ſay, that we, whilſt remaining unarmed and in a defenceleſs condition, are a free people, is moſt notoriouſly falſe, and ſo ſenſeleſs a notion, that it needs barely be mentioned, amongſt perſons of common underſtanding, to expoſe the folly of it.

We may, for the diſguiſing our ſlavery boaſt of, and honour ourſelves with the glorious name of being, and as ſome hireling ſcriblers, have aſſerted, the ONLY *free nation* on earth. But we only by ſuch fooliſh aſſertions render ourſelves the jeſt and deriſion of all the nations round us; and who have of late, and now treat us with ſuch contempt as never was ſhewn to the meaneſt ſtate.—

Our bluſtering neighbour the perfidious Gallic nation (who has more than once been conquered by our brave militia) has now nothing to do but to order ſome troops to march oppo-

ſite our coaſt, giving out that ſuch march of their troops is deſigned to invade us: — and behold our iſland in the utmoſt conſternation! our own mercenaries are ordered to the ſea-coaſt at an immenſe expence; foreign mercenaries are imported at a greater expence and hazard; and a fleet ſufficient to conquer nations, is kept only for the guarding that part of the coaſt lined with about fifty thouſand mercenaries, — whilſt the other parts of the nation are left deſolate and expoſed either to foreign enemies, or to the riſings and pilferings of our own mob.—Such iniquitous meaſures muſt beggar us, and can never prove an effectual defence to the nation. — For, ſuppoſing we were able to maintain one hundred thouſand men inſtead of the fifty thouſand now in pay; of what advantage could this prove to a free people? would it not be our fate to become, as moſt nations now are, ſlaves to our own mercenaries, and verify that moſt remarkable ſpeech of a certain officer, who ſaid, "That the church once had,—the "law now hath,—and the army ſoon muſt have "the diſpoſal of the lives and properties of the "nation."

THIS is the real ſituation thoſe ſons of corruption have brought us to; who are now employing all their emiſſaries to ſuggeſt, infuſe and propagate falſe fears and terrors to frighten weak, ignorant and inconſiderate men from truſting to their own defence; thus endeavouring to accompliſh that ſcandalous ſtate of ſlavery. Heaven forbid! that his majeſty's and family's ſecurity

to

to the throne of theſe realms, ſhould depend on a ſet of mercenaries and penſioners: the ſtability of his throne depends on a more noble foundation: on the unfeigned, ſincere, true, and zealous affections of his ſubjects; ready to defend him not only againſt a foreign enemy, but alſo againſt thoſe vipers, who under a ſpecious profeſſion of loyalty would betray and ſell their king and country, by preventing the honeſt and virtuous part of the nation from uniting to reſcue majeſty out of their wicked hands, and, from aſſiſting him in the recovery of thoſe loſſes, and in the removing of that diſgrace, which they have brought upon the nation. A well regulated and properly choſen militia would be able ſpeedily to ſuppreſs all riſings, and protect us againſt a lawleſs drunken mob, and from their robbing the induſtrious part of mankind as they have done.

But this is not the only neceſſary thing to be done: a proper ſpirit of induſtry, ſobriety, and frugality ought to be promoted, at leaſt, among the lower rank of people, without which no nation can long ſubſiſt. For the promoting of which good end, let it be conſidered;

Whether, if thoſe peſtilential houſes, known by the name of *Diſtilleries*, were ſhut up, it would not only procure a plenty of corn to the great relief of the real neceſſitous part of mankind, but likewiſe prove an effectual method to ſave the money, ſpent in that pernicious liquor, for buying bread, and recalling the lower people to their loſt ſenſes and underſtandings, reſtore

their health, ſtrengthen their bodies, render them fit for labour, and ſave the lives and ſouls of millions of people?—and if a human ſoul is of infinitely greater value than the whole world; ſurely no national gain, (if with any propriety it can be called gain) ariſing from thoſe deſtroying houſes, ought to be put in competition with the above mentioned advantages. But if in this refined age, of wit, ſenſe, and pleaſure, little regard be paid to the conſequences of a future ſtate: yet conſidering that this nation is at preſent, and may for ſome time continue in great want of able bodied men to mann the fleet and recruit the army; ought not care to be taken to prevent a liquor from being vended, which entirely weakens and enfeebles the body, rendering it unable to endure the hardſhips, or perform the ſervice required in thoſe ſtations? if this conſideration alſo be not of ſufficient weight to anſwer and ballance the ſuppoſed profit got by thoſe houſes: ought not the law, forbidding any leſs quantity than two gallons to be ſold at a time, be put in due execution, which might prove of immediate and great ſervice, till the entire ſuppreſſion of thoſe *peſt-houſes* can be brought about?

WHETHER drunkenneſs, a vice, which amongſt the Romans (who when in their virtuous ſtate were as wiſe a nation as any on earth) was held in ſo juſt a deteſtation, as containing in it a diſpoſition to every vice ſhocking to human nature; that if a woman was only once found drunk

drunk ſhe was to be puniſhed with death: ought it not in this nation to be puniſhed with corporal puniſhment amongſt the lower; and ſome mark of infamy, confinement, or loſs of pin-money, ſettlements, &c. in a higher rank; to deter our women from a vice, now become ſo common in all ranks, that no village is free from it, and which robs them of all good nature and every endearing ſocial virtue; makes them liſtleſs and idle, careleſs, fearleſs, and void of all ſhame; extravagant, lewd and highly unnatural to their huſbands and children; inflames them with a brutiſh fury, and every tempeſtuous and outrageous paſſion of a diſordered mind; cauſing confuſion, diſcord and quarrelling in moſt families by reducing them to beggary; and in the end deſtroys the human ſpecies itſelf.—Surely a vice of ſuch conſequences will admit of no delay, but calls on our governors for immediate conſideration and redreſs?

WHETHER a law for the better regulating and well ordering of the lower ſort of people, fixing the prices of labour, compelling their children of both ſexes to be put to ſervices from ſuch an age to ſuch an age;—fixing the wages of all kind of ſervants, who, notwithſtanding their great wages, vales, and card-money (enabling them indeed to live in all manner of extravagance, lewdneſs, and debauchery, and thereby entirely ruin their conſtitution) remain in the ſame beggarly ſituation, and become a uſeleſs burden on the pariſhes;—I ſay, whether a law planned on ſeveral made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but long ſince

grown

grown obſolete and in diſuſe, is not become abſolutely neceſſary for the well-being of this nation? or, whether this nation without ſome ſuch law, properly accommodated to theſe times, can ſubſiſt any long time without naturally falling into the worſt of evils, a general anarchy?

WHETHER ſome method ought not to be thought of, for the better putting the laws in due execution? it being to no purpoſe to have or make good laws, unleſs they be properly and duly executed: and in no nation are the laws worſe executed than with us. Such men, therefore, who are capable, but either will not, or do not ſerve their country as magiſtrates, ſhould be compelled, in the ſame manner as every man of fortune is compellable to be high-ſheriff.—Nor indeed ſhould any but worthy men of ſufficient knowledge be nominated, and not every officious tool of great men, or ſuch, who by a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion or approbation of wicked men in power get in, and which hath brought great contempt on the office, and is the reaſon why many men of true honour do not chuſe to act: and it ought (as in every nation it is) to be dignified with ſome *honorary* diſtinction, exception, or reward. This would cauſe a virtuous emulation, who ſhould ſerve their country the moſt and beſt, by duly executing all ſuch laws as promote the welfare and well-being of ſociety.

WHETHER theſe conſiderations will (as they are intended) be improved for the benefit of ſociety, time muſt ſhew. But whatever ſome men

may

may imagine; moſt certain it is, that no laſting change in our politics can prevail, until a thorough reformation in our morals, and our way of thinking and living be promoted.—No reformation could be expected from thoſe, whoſe only and chief ſupport was corruption and bribery, by diſtributing the plunder of the nation among the chief perſons of their party and faction, to purchaſe by ſuch donations their approbation, or at leaſt their ſilence; and being ſenſible of their wicked doings, hoped that their crimes would be overlooked, if by largeſſes, penſions, peerages and other titles they could engage, as it were, in the ſame guilt perſons of ſome credit and reputation. If therefore thoſe, who are, or ſhall ſucceed to the adminiſtration, do by their actions ſhew a diſintereſted regard for their country; and that its well-being and glory, void of all ſelfiſh views and perſonal regard, is their only aim; and that to the utmoſt of their power they diſcourage and baniſh ambition, extravagance, bribery and corruption; and introduce and encourage frugality, diſintereſtedneſs, a love for liberty and our country, accompanied with that heroic martial ſpirit, once the characteriſtic of this nation; then indeed with truth will they deſerve to be dignified with thoſe glorious appellations far above all peerage;—That of *real patriots* and *lovers of their country*.—And that ſuch their endeavours may meet with all ſucceſs; and that every virtuous, worthy, honeſt man would in this time of great danger and diſtreſs, give aſſiſtance to the

reſtoration

reſtoration of their country's welfare and ancient glory, is the ſincere deſire of

Your humble Servant,

BRITANNICUS.

No. 86. SATURDAY, *March* 12, 1757.

Nolumus leges Angliæ *mutare,*

King ALFRED.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE motto recommended to your readers is a ſample of that wiſdom and integrity, which, when punctually obſerved, guards the throne from ſycophants and knaves; ſtrengthens the hand of government, and ſecures the affections and liberty of the ſubject.

WHENEVER kings or miniſters have fallen off from this reſolution to maintain the laws of England againſt innovation and evaſion, the delinquent has eſcaped, the innocent has ſuffered, the conſtitution has trembled, and the royal breaſt has been filled with diſtraction and ſorrow:—When the legiſlature breaks through the ancient forms of executing juſtice, or makes precedents to enable a condemned criminal to

obſtruct

obſtruct the juſtice of his ſentence; from that moment our liberty is in danger; and there ſhall be no traytor, coward, or plunderer of his country: but, if he can either find money or friends, will eſcape the juſtice due to his crime.

WHEN it was declared, *We will not alter the laws of* ENGLAND, every man's property called in queſtion, and every crime was tried by a JURY before the judges of the realm. And both judge and jury were ſubject to the ſevereſt puniſhments, in caſe of their perverting or deferring juſtice. Under ſuch laws it was in vain for a criminal, though poſſeſſed of the riches of the Acapulco galeon, allied to the head of the law, or protected by the moſt powerful ſubject, to hope for a colluſive ſentence, or to expect the ſuſpenſion of juſtice.

BUT this bulwark of the public ſafety and of the peace of government, no ſooner gave way to commiſſions for trying cauſes between king and ſubject in the exciſe, &c. than it encouraged the abettors of arbitrary power, both in our fleets and armies, (as if they were afraid of the rod of juſtice, held by the hand from whom they received their bread,) to ſecure a ſafe retreat from the reſentment of the people, crying out for juſtice againſt their bad conduct. They wreſted the cognizance of their crimes from that judgment, which is the moſt equitable, ſatisfactory, and conſtitutional; and placed it in a COURT-MARTIAL; which is, in its own nature, confirmed by long experience of their lenity,

lenity, too much inclined to acquit the *cowardice* and *neglect* of the priſoner, who perhaps may be their intimate, or patron, and whoſe preſervation may ſome time or other deliver them from the juſtice of the nation, ſhould they be accuſed of flying from the enemy, or of continuing daſtardly ſpectators of their country's loſs and diſgrace.

HAD the conſtitution of this court been formed upon the principles of wiſdom and integrity, the country ought to name a number equal to the ſeamen, on all cauſes, where the nation has ſuffered damage, and where juſtice would be perverted or evaded, ſhould the criminal eſcape. In all caſes of cowardice, diſaffection, treachery and neglect of duty the people are the greateſt ſufferers. And ſhall they be excluded from the privilege of ſitting in that court, which is to enquire into the cauſe, and to puniſh the author, of their misfortunes and ſufferings? was it ever known that a jury impannelled according to the laws of England found a perſon guilty of death, and pleaded *conſcience* in favour of the convict, againſt their own ſentence? have you ever heard that a jury of twelve independent, diſintereſted and *rational* men, could be induced to addreſs the fountain of mercy in favour of a perſon, and at the ſame time declare that they were under no undue influence before, nor were conſcious of any motives after paſſing that ſentence, to induce his majeſty to ſave his life? is it poſſible to think that any ſuch contradiction could have aroſe

from

from a jury of a true *British compoſition*? or, is it to be wondered that we now ſee men eſcape the juſtice of their country by the lenity of court-martials, as bankrupts frequently bilk their creditors; that we hear of a carpenter rendered incapable of ſerving his majeſty, becauſe his captain deſerted his ſtation; and that we read in hiſtory of a commodore, whoſe miſconduct at La Guira, *&c.* decked with the trophies of a gentle admonition from a court-martial, recommended him to a flag?

It muſt not be expected that our battles will ever be fought with the vigour and ſucceſs, as in the days of yore; ſo long as the ancient laws cannot reach the authors of our miſcarriages. Nor can Britain hope to retrieve her honour and loſſes, till the martial people intruſted with our defence, and with power to annoy our enemies, are convinced that they are accountable for their actions not only to a court of their friends and companions, but to a jury of thoſe people, who pay them to fight. Till this is done, we ſhall have reaſon to complain that the law, in this caſe, has been changed: we cannot expect that the hero, who dotes on his lap-dog, lolls at eaſe on his ſoft couch, and is ſupported by a court intereſt, will riſque the hazard of a broad-ſide, much leſs ſail in queſt of the enemy; nor ſhall we ever wipe off the ſtain and contempt, brought upon the Britiſh flag, by the commanders who cruize for ſpoil, but ſcout when they ſhould encounter the enemy's ſhips of war.

HAD not our ſovereign remained inflexible to the repreſentation of the late court-martial, what muſt his people have done? could that court have been indemnified; would they not have acquitted the object of the nation's juſt reſentment? did they not even proceed ſo far as to endanger the quiet and repoſe of the kingdom, and to hazard the neceſſary union that now ſubſiſts in the affections of his majeſty and his ſubjects, in order to ſave the man, whoſe connections with his fellow-officers ſeem to have weighed more with them than the juſtice due to his demerit? or, to what cauſe ſhall we attribute ſuch a partiality as was diſcovered in favour of Mr. BYNG? For his family to eſpouſe his cauſe, to plead his excuſe, to interceed for pardon, is very *natural*, and in no view culpable. But to ſee one, who had voluntarily, premeditately and legally found him guilty of death, to be ſo far abſent from himſelf, as a judge; ſo forgetful of his duty to his king and country; or ſo powerfully influenced by female tears, as to attempt the wiſdom of the nation in its legiſlative capacity, is a circumſtance that will brand that court with indelible infamy, and, in general, increaſe the diſguſt of the nation againſt the preſent method of trying the officers of our fleets and armies for treachery, cowardice, and negligence.

BESIDES; does it not behove the guardians of our liberties, the great council of the nation in parliament aſſembled, to obviate the bad effects of ſuch a precedent? was it ever known that a

ſentence

ſentence of a court-martial was referred to, or accounted cognizable by the twelve judges? yet here is a precedent for appealing for ever to the judges from the ſentence of this extraordinary court: why then is it neceſſary to continue a court, which refers its determinations to the ancient laws of the land? did ever any of the king's courts of record attempt to invalidate their own deciſions, and to draw their ſovereign into an act of *abſolute power*, contrary to juſtice and the addreſſes of his people, by falſe pretences and by proſtituting the ſacred name of conſcience? is it not warning enough to a ſinking nation to guard for the future againſt ſuch a creation of arbitrary power, which is already grown ſo preſumptuous, as to imagine they were able by the addition of female intereſt, to ſubdue the Britiſh lion; and, when every art of their combined force was diſcovered and foiled by the wiſdom and reſolution of Cæſar, to deceive the vigilance of the repreſentatives of that people, who mourn for the loſſes brought upon them, and pray continually for the condign puniſhment of every delinquent? mercy, to be ſure, is a commendable, and a deſirable attribute.—But, I wiſh that this attribute ſo readily extended, and obtained by Mr. *Byng*'s advocates, under the name of *conſcience*, may not diſtinguiſh the merciful by ſome diſagreeable characters in the pages of future annals. Was it ever known that the repreſentatives of a people; of that people, who had by their addreſſes to the throne and their inſtructions to their members demand-

ed juſtice, in the ſtrongeſt terms, were to be deluded into a meaſure, which might have led the k—to forfeit his word with his ſubjects, and opened a way for the eſcape of every public criminal, able to find friends or money to diſguiſe iniquity and to purchaſe voices?

It is certain Mr. *Byng* is allied to a noble family, and to a family enobled for the merits of a father, whoſe ſervices to his king and country will always add luſtre to his name in the marine hiſtory of Britain: but have we never read of the unfortunate offspring of the noble and virtuous? Scipio the ſon of Africanus was a *coward*: and many a valiant father has been diſgraced by an *effeminate* ſon. It cannot be urged that the father's virtues ought to attone for the ſon's crimes. On the contrary, every tub is to ſtand on its own bottom: and every perſon muſt ſuffer for their own tranſgreſſion. Clodius was deſcended of a brave and popular family; but he was delivered up by the ſenate to die the ignominious death of a traytor, for not doing *all in his power* againſt the enemies of Rome, in the Mediterranean.

Therefore how ill-timed, how miſapplied would thoſe reſolutions have been, had the lords been blinded with the inſinuations of an illegal or unmerciful ſentence! had not their penetration got the better of natural compaſſion, and their duty towards their king and country commanded their paſſions, and cloſed their ears againſt ſolicitations without, and ſophiſtry within doors, what abuſe of juſtice; what encouragement of

iniquity: what diſcontent at home; and what contempt might have been expected from our enemies abroad?

THIS is the happy conſtitution of Britain. Nothing can paſs into a law, or become an act of the legiſlature without the concurrence of king, lords, and commons. If the king and commons are impoſed upon, then is the opportunity for the lords to ſhine moſt nobly in their legiſlative capacity. If wiſdom was ever more particularly the genius of this houſe, it was moſt eminent in the preſent circumſtances. The king was ready to comply with the great council of the nation: the commons, we are informed, had acquieſced with the ſolicitations of the court-martial and friends of Mr. *Byng*: the lords did not want powerful advocates to engage them to paſs the bill for enquiring into the pretended ſcruples of the *conſcience* of Mr. Van K—ple and ſome others of the court-martial, in order, by protracting, to ſave a life already condemned by the law. But, as the glory, peace and ſtrength of the nation were depending upon the iſſue of this ſeeming inſignificant ſacrifice to the Manes of Minorca, and juſtice of Britain, neither the ſanction of the other houſe, nor family connections, nor the merciful diſpoſition of their ſovereign, could divert them from the chief object of their attention, as council to the king and guardians of their country, ſo clearly diſcovered and diſcuſſed by that brighteſt ornament of the law, long entitled to the dignity, though but lately

adorned with a coronet, and raiſed to the office of chief juſtice.

INTO this debate there entered not the leaſt ſyllable of party, no invidious reflections, no perſonal animoſity, no aggravations of guilt. The ſole enquiry was concerning the rectitude of the meaſure, and the danger which might follow from ſuch a precedent: and when there could be nothing advanced to countenance ſo extraordinary a proceeding, which was to ſet aſide not only the ſentence of a court eſtabliſhed by law, but the unanimous opinion of the twelve judges: and it appeared to the diſpaſſionate, that an act of ſuch a kind would be arbitrary, create a new form of appeal unknown to the laws of this nation, and inflame an univerſal diſſatisfaction againſt his majeſty and government, in a time, when *union* is the chief prop of our liberty and religion; behold! *Anchiſes* like, that noble lord calls upon his peers,

Servate domum! ſervate nepotes!

ſpend not your time and breath in quibbles and flouriſhes of ſpeech: let not party nor private ſolicitations determine your judgement: but conſider how far ſuch a meaſure carried into execution by the legiſlature will affect the conſtitution: how much it will clogg the wheels of government: how it will loſe the confidence of the people: how it will embolden factious ſpirits to rebel; how it will deter the friends of the common-wealth from acting with the neceſſary vi-

gour

gour againſt the enemy: and how it will operate to the prejudice of our king and country. Thus juſtice was decreed to take place; and ſatisfaction is reſtored to thoſe, who wiſh well to his Majeſty's arms and government.

A.

No. 87. SATURDAY, *March* 19, 1757.

——Servetur ad imum,
Qualis ab incepto proceſſerat, & ſibi conſtet.
HOR.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

I BELIEVE no miniſter ever was or will be popular, but from real or apparent virtue; if he wears the maſk for his own ſake only, and all his fair profeſſions for the public are inſincere, his actions will ſoon be inconſiſtent with them, and his credit with the people will be ſhort-lived, whatever may become of his power, whether it ſink with his reputation, or by vile corruption and the art of political lying to king and people, he may eſtabliſh it for a time. On the other hand, if he feels the force of his own eloquence, if his heart glows with the ſame honeſt zeal to ſave and ſerve his country, that his words inſpire in all good men; however involved, intangled, and exhauſted he may find it; however prepoſ-

ſeſſed and poiſoned the r—l ear; whatever obſtruction he may meet with from diſappointed, reſenting faction, like dying waſps that ſting with the laſt effort of fleeting life; his uniform, perſevering virtue ſhall in due time triumph over all obſtacles, and his country, oppreſſed and languiſhing, like an expiring patient under the baleful preſcriptions of the moſt wicked and ignorant quacks, ſhall, by native vigour and ſalutary food, emerge into life, ſtrength, and glory, and his fame be eſtabliſhed for ever.

INDEED, after a lingering hopeleſs diſeaſe that had long threatened diſſolution to the ſtate, it is not to be expected, we ſhould all at once ſtart up into health and vigour: good habits take place but ſlowly, and the ſick are to be nurſed like children. Perhaps even the poiſonous drugs, the momentary cordials and opiates thoſe vile temporary ſhifts and expedients of pickpocket practitioners are not ſafely to be withdrawn at once. The ſkilful know, that all ſudden changes, from the worſt habits to the beſt, are dangerous; and therefore with prudence and caution they mollify, moderate, and introduce by ſuch degrees, as the patient can bear, more ſalutary medicines and a more natural regimen.

IF this be, as I take it to be, the preſent ſtate of the public; we ought not to be ſo fooliſhly ſanguine as to expect, that victory ſhall follow before we can put to ſea, or take the field; and that taxes ſhall ceaſe, becauſe the miniſtry has been changed. We are not to expect miracles from

from the beſt men. But, if every thing has been done that was poſſible, if ſalutary proviſion has been made, and great and wiſe plans have been formed, if a ſpirit of frugality has appeared, if attention and induſtry are awake, and the buſineſs of every board and department has met with uncommon diſpatch, and the ſervants of the public have done their utmoſt to ſave and ſerve their country, not only acting but contented to act without miniſterial influence; ſupporting and ſupported only by public ſpirit: if theſe things are true; and who but the author of the *Teſt* ſays or thinks otherwiſe; have we not great reaſon to rejoice? what a glorious reformation may we not juſtly hope for? what a new and unexpected face of things may we not ſee? our weakneſs turned to ſtrength, our poverty to wealth, and our diſgraces to glory. But ſhall they, who were ten years neglecting, corrupting, miſtaking, and blundering about all our true intereſts and concerns, cry out, There is nothing done; becauſe wiſdom and virtue cannot repair in ten weeks the miſchiefs they brought upon us in ten years? they thwarting and obſtructing all they can, and ſeeming determined to ſink the ſhip if they loſe the command.

I AM led to theſe reflections by ſomething I heard was thrown out by a great man in a certain political club, when a late meaſure adopted by the preſent miniſtry was brought in and received unanimous approbation. The above-mentioned author has licked up his maſter's ſpit-

tle, and by the help of a pull or two endeavoured it to make ſomething of it.

It was wiſhed that *foreign connections*, which had been a *mill-ſtone* on the neck of our *old* miniſters, might become a *garland* on the *new*. The thought however ſprightly, if conſidered a little, will be found to have more ſpite and reſentment than truth or wit in it. And I ſhould not have taken upon me to have animadverted upon it at all, but have left it to be anſwered by thoſe, who are much more able to do it; had not the *Teſt* writer taken it up, in hopes to make ſome impreſſion on a few friends of the old leven, who are much leſs able to judge, than ready to pronounce. They do not ſpeak out, but they would inſinuate an inconſiſtency of characters in thoſe, who condemn foreign connections in one ſhape, and eſpouſe them in another; that ſubſidies are ſubſidies ſtill, to whomſoever they are paid, Peter or Paul; and that it is all one to us, who lead the dance in Germany, if we are ſtill to pay the piper.

By the good leave of theſe gentlemen, I think, there is a wide difference whether we pay our money to Peter or Paul; if Paul be much more able and willing to aſſiſt us than Peter; if we can make good bargains; and, at a ſmall certain expence, ſuch as we can afford, ſecure to ourſelves ſo great and natural an ally as the King of Pruſſia; when our own great intereſts are firſt provided for and ſecured, and foreign alliance comes in only as a ſecond conſideration;

ſideration; ſurely this is much more wiſe and national and oeconomical, than at a boundleſs ruinous expence to ramble for friends as far as Muſcovy, or to glean up here and there a little inconſiderable German Prince, equally impotent as unwilling to ſerve us. It ill becomes thoſe, who could laviſh away *three hundred thouſand* pounds a year to a prince of Heſſe (whatever good his ſoldiers may be thought to have done us, by coming here) to be witty upon a meaſure that ſecures to us the friendſhip of the King of Pruſſia at *two thirds* of that ſum: And would have given *five hundred thouſand* to Ruſſia, beſides afterdemands, that would have come to as much more, and might have been endleſs. Is there any compariſon between *two hundred thouſand* and almoſt *two millions?* ſo widely do the ſchemes differ!—but to whom do we owe the neceſſity of the preſent meaſure, but to thoſe, whoſe private motives led them a-ſtray, a whoring after foreign intereſts; and whoſe adulterous politicks had engendered ſo monſtrous an offſpring as an offenſive alliance between France and Auſtria, unhinged the whole ſyſtem of Europe, and the whole frame of natural connection among nations; as far as they could miſtake what was right and natural.

SHALL theſe men, or any of their diſappointed friends, triumph upon the vain imagination, that they retort upon the preſent miniſtry thoſe ſtrong and good arguments that were fairly urged againſt them? becauſe ſome of their errors are by

by abler heads turned to advantage. When their contradictory negotiations, and treaties, intended to preſerve peace in Germany, had very naturally kindled war in its ſtead; if that war be ſkilfully conducted, ſo as to draw off great part of the attention and force of our own enemies, and by powerful diverſion favour the intereſt of Great Britain; and at the ſame time be ſo frugally ſupported as to coſt us but two hundred thouſand pounds; ſhall they, who have given almoſt as much, for ſupplying coals at Newcaſtle, proviſions in a country where proviſions are merchandize, to a contracting alderman? (and is not the King of Pruſſia of more value than many ſuch aldermen?) ſhall they, who waſted millions in the late continent wars, in which we had little or no concern, plume themſelves upon this good policy, and call it their meaſure? ſurely they can have no claim, though their millſtone become on other heads a laurel of triumph.

But it ſeems Mr. Monitor, you promiſed that ſubſidies (to uſe for once a little of Mr. *Teſt*'s wit) ſhould ſubſide. I do not know that ever you promiſed any ſuch thing: but if you did, you were certainly very right, and a true friend to your country, if you have any power to make it good. I remember ſome time ago in a paper or two you took care to diſtinguiſh between alliances and ſubſidies, and put them very juſtly at a wide diſtance. But, Sir, I never looked upon you as a writer for or againſt any miniſtry whatever:

ever: but conſidered you as a fair, candid, advocate for the people. I know you ſet out upon that profeſſion, and if you wrote againſt the late miniſtry, and what you write now ſeems to favour the preſent, it is, I hope, becauſe you are ſtill for the PEOPLE: for them always; for the miniſtry only while they ſeek the public good. Not that you are trimming in hopes of a place: you ſee the miniſters have no creatures, they give no places: but if they did, and you have any ſuch expectation, you are utterly undone: you will keep it but a year, a little year, and then, like ſome of the patrons of the *Teſt*, loſe your place and reputation for ever. Believe me, Sir, it is your intereſt to act more conſiſtently: and that you and your writings may continue to be uſeful and acceptable, *keep well with the people.*

INCONSISTENCY is the bane of every great and good character: it muſt proceed from want of judgement or of virtue, and betrays a weak head or a bad heart: if inconſiſtency be fairly charged upon any man, the public is ſeldom ſlow to do juſtice to his character, and reſume at once what was given to the unworthy. The man is known, he is good and great no longer: but upon whom does this charge lie? on thoſe, who have brought good out of evil, and turned wicked and abſurd meaſures to the advantage of their country? Or rather, on thoſe, who condemn their own ſchemes when improved by other hands? who cry out, the pittance is too ſmall,—

you

you give too little;—you give too much;—you ſhould give nothing at all.

Such will be the conſiſtency of men, who act upon private views; who could join the old adminiſtration in the worſt of their meaſures, in hopes only to overthrow them and poſſeſs their power; and, after every inſinuating, coaxing artifice, tried in vain to be admitted to a ſhare of the new, with rapid reſentment ſtrait ſet up their ſtandard of oppoſition and lie in wait to condemn. How candid muſt ſuch anticipated cenſure be? what an ill grace, how ſuſpected, how little weight can it have with the people?

But, Sir, I am concerned, I cannnot but be concerned for the characters of thoſe men, from whom my country expects great ſalvation. I have no doubt of their acting conſiſtently and going on as they have begun; and ſhould be ſorry to think of their loſing any credit, or meeting with the leaſt obſtruction from any wellmeaning people, who might be ſo widely miſled, as to fancy any ſimilitude between our giving a ſmall occaſional aſſiſtance, and perhaps this may be all, as allies to ſuch a prince as the King of Pruſſia, greatly and glorioufly engaged in actual war; and our paying annual ſubſidies to little potentates indifferently in war or peace in the ſame ruinous ſyſtem for ever, in meer conſideration of foreign intereſts; our own wholly neglected and often not thought of. If Hanover can find protection and ſafety in the ſame plan that provides for the ſecurity of England, I think, no

reaſonable

reaſonable men can have the leaſt objection: ſo far am I from entertaining any prejudice againſt it, that I moſt ardently hope it may be ſo, and moſt cordially wiſh it all poſſible proſperity conſiſtent with our own.

I am concerned alſo for the characters of that great and reſpectable body of *country gentlemen*, who never appeared to more advantage in their warmeſt oppoſition to the moſt iniquitous meaſures of corruption, than they do *now* in eſpouſing and ſupporting with ſuch zeal and affection, unplaced, unpenſioned, unſought, the great and national plans of equally prudent expence and ſalutary oeconomy, moſt auſpiciouſly introduced by the preſent miniſtry, to be extended as far as private wiſdom and virtue can reform public and general abuſes. Can there be a greater ſanction given to public meaſures than the unanimous approbation of men, who ſhew that the public good is their only aim; and that LIBERTY, not a ſpirit of contradiction, is the indefeaſible birthright of Engliſhmen; that they ſeek and expect no places of profit or power, nor any private and perſonal emoluments, but propoſe only to enjoy their ſhare of the general proſperity.

INDEED it is too natural and common for miniſters to tread in each others ſteps, and we may not entertain very ſanguine hopes, whoever looks back but a few years to obſerve the conduct of ſome men, who had long been warm and loud in oppoſing mal-adminiſtration; yet, when they ſucceeded, very ſhamefully fell off from all their

profeſſions

profeſſions for the public, and with great alacrity travelled on in the ſame miry roads, till they became as dirty and beſpattered as their predeceſſors. But I truſt it will not be ſo now; I foreſee better things of our preſent deliverers, men of known abilities, of well-tried integrity, who have ſhewn themſelves ſuperior to the love of money, and not to be tempted by power; who, were greater in their own minds, greater when out of place, than any miniſterial power could make them. Diſtreſſed and ſunk, as they found all our affairs, puzzled and perplexed with neglect and error, they have had the ſkill and addreſs to free us already from ſome of our entanglements, and will ſoon, I doubt not, deliver us from all our abſurd connections. I congratulate my country upon the pleaſing proſpects that open before us, the chearful dawn of happier days begins to ſmile upon us, and we ſhall yet rejoice in ſucceſs and proſperity.

C.

No. 88. SATURDAY, *March* 26, 1757.

Caſt your eyes on thoſe to whoſe wiſe adminiſtration you ſtand indebted for the preſent hopeful ſituation of your affairs; ſome of whom have in the ſpace of a few years been raiſed from beggars to unbounded wealth: others from obſcure and inglorious ſtations to the higheſt poſts of honour: ſome of theſe Upſtarts *have built private ſeats, exceeding in magnificence our public edifices; and have augmented their own eſtates in proportion to the impoveriſhment of the commonwealth.*

DEMOSTHENES in Olynth. III.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE order of the world, the connections of mankind, and the bias of human paſſions require that juſtice ſhould be blind, incapable of receiving any impreſſion from intrigue, influence, hatred, or affection. But, ſhe treads ſure, and though juſtice may be ſlow, when awakened by the cries of an injured nation, ſhe purſues with certainty, and never ſtops, till judgment is executed upon the tranſgreſſor, however deeply intrenched in craft and corruption, or hedged in by wealth and power.

BRITAIN affords numerous examples in proof of this obſervation. No degree in church and ſtate

ſtate could ever protect the delinquent. No power upon earth was ever able to deliver the ſtate criminal from his country's reſentment. Means have been found to infect majeſty itſelf with partiality for a favourite impeached for tyranny, miſconduct, or corruption: and a parliament has been ſurprized into an approbation of ruinous meaſures, and to acquit the author of our country's misfortunes. EDWARD the Second burned ſo with the love of Gaveſton, his debauched and vicious favourite and unexperienced and mean-ſpirited miniſter, who by his nocturnal revels, neglect of the public ſafety, and encouragement of vice and immorality, preſently reduced the nation to a ſtate of weakneſs; that he riſked his own crown, liberty and life to ſet him above the reach of juſtice. And HENRY the Sixth influenced his parliament to indemnify William De-la-pole, duke of Suffolk and his prime miniſter, whom his ſubjects arraigned of high crimes and miſdemeanors againſt his king and country. But they both met with their deſerts; Gaveſton loſt his head at Gaverſeed near Warwick; and the Duke, flying out of the kingdom, was ſeized upon the high ſeas, brought into Dover road, beheaded, and his head and body were left expoſed upon the ſhore.

A lord high admiral and uncle to the king; a generaliſſimo and chief favourite of the queen: a cardinal archbiſhop, and minion of the moſt deſpotic ſovereign on the throne of England; a Seymour; the earls of Leiceſter and Eſſex; a Woolſey;

Woolſey; could not divert the courſe of juſtice.

WHY then are we ſurprized, that an admiral convicted of *not doing what was in his power to do*, in the defence, and for the honour of his country, has not been able by any means to eſcape the puniſhment due for his crimes? But would it not be a greater ſurprize ſhould the *juſt enquiry*, demanded by the whole nation and promiſed by the K——n, to bring the authors of our inquietudes and misfortunes to light and juſtice, and without which the life of this admiral can give very little ſatisfaction, not take place? It will not be admitted that all our loſſes and miſcarriages are the unavoidable effects of chance, ſuperior force of our enemies, want of money, or contrary winds. Ought nobody to be accountable to their king and country for thoſe councils, which under the name of a peace, adviſed his majeſty not only to give up Cape Breton, the moſt advantageous poſſeſſion of the enemy in North America, but to expoſe Great Britain to the ridicule of all the world by depoſiting hoſtages of our good faith; while the limits of our own plantations were left undetermined, ſubject to new claims and endleſs diſputes, and expoſed to continual incurſions and encroachments? not leſs than THIRTY *forts*, &c. being erected on and within our borders, and our Indian friends drawn over from our intereſt by the French; while we ſuffered ourſelves to be amuſed with perplexing negotiations, and

ſomebody ſuppreſſed the intelligence of thoſe hoſtile actions in time of peace.

HAVE not the public a right to enquire how, and for what purpoſes, the ſum of ſix millions, three hundred thouſand pounds, raiſed for carrying on the war, at the time of the making of the late peace, was applied? would not the embezzlement of that ſum be a much greater reaſon for an impeachment, than the two hundred thouſand pounds not accounted for by Lord High Treaſurer DANBY was under King Charles II?

To whom do we owe the dangers and fears of the French King againſt us? is it not to thoſe, who have adviſed, contrived and intereſted themſelves in the enacting of laws to diminiſh the people of this realm, and to increaſe the exorbitant fees and power of a certain court——. by the marriage act: and to diſarm the ſubject by the riot, game, ſmuggling acts, &c. and conſumed the treaſure of the kingdom by expenſive, and uſeleſs or colluſive contracts for fleets, not employed, and to ſupply armies from Europe with proviſions in a country abounding with grain and cattle? had not the people been diſarmed, there would have been no fear ariſen from a French invaſion, nor any occaſion for a foreign aid to be called in for our defence. Had the navy been appointed with judgment and integrity, Minorca would have remained under the Britiſh dominion. To be reduced to the neceſſity of a foreign force for our defence; and

to

to leave our fortreſſes defenceleſs, is to defeat and overthrow the proviſion, which had been deliberately made by his majeſty and parliament for the ſafety and preſervation of his majeſty's kingdoms and dominions.

Is it no crime to endanger the well eſtabliſhed form of government in this kindgom and its ancient liberties, by adviſing the king to take foreign forces into pay without conſent of parliament: by attempting to alter the conſtitutional method of electing repreſentatives of the people, and by making void thoſe articles in the act of ſettlement, which are the barriers of the peoples liberties? had the money paid for the Hanoverians and Heſſians, imported into this iſland, been applyed according to the intention of parliament, and the intereſt of the nation; ſhould we have been terrified with the appearance of a foreign military power in our bowels? or, mourned for the diſgrace brought upon us in the Mediterranean and America by the defeat of Braddock and miſconduct of Byng? Our connections with the continent had been ſuch only, as would be found conſiſtent with Britiſh intereſt: the Freeholders would have had no reaſon to complain of an uſurpation upon their rights: our armies would not have been augmented and recruited with foreigners: and our navy would never have been open to Hanoverian officers.

SHALL a counſellor, to his majeſty, or one entruſted with the adminiſtration under him,

after he has encroached upon the regal power by threatening his majeſty into a compliance to his will and to the dictates of his faction; and by miſrepreſentations and invectives againſt his ſubjects, deprived him of their ſafe and wholſome council, be permitted to depart in peace? ſuch a one comes as much within the intention of treaſon, as the traytor, who endeavours to alienate the hearts and affections of his majeſty's good ſubjects from his royal perſon and government.

If a nation ſhould become ſo corrupt, or ſo enſlaved by its repreſentatives, as to grant money without expecting an account of its diſburſement in their ſervice, the head of the law might plume himſelf at the expence of the public: the treaſury might accept draughts for ſervices not provided for by parliament: and the admiralty might indulge their agents, contractors and officers with leave to raiſe immenſe eſtates out of their ſtores and proviſions. If they care not for the public weal, the bill of rights and act of ſettlement would be forced to make way for foreign and deſpotic power; it would be no matter whether the chancellor of the exchequer could caſt up a common ſum, or a ſecretary of war could write common-ſenſe. But, this is not the caſe of Great Britain at preſent; as we are well aſſured of their inclination in conjunction with his majeſty to let juſtice be done upon the ignorant, negligent and evil miniſters and counſellors, who have either adviſed bad meaſures, or been the cauſe of our loſſes and diſgrace: as

the

the treaſury, exchequer, admiralty, and navy boards have incurred no cenſure, and promiſe oeconomy, diſpatch and vigour; and as Byng, the weak inſtrument, can be no longer played off by the real authors of our misfortunes, *on whom ſhall we caſt our eyes*, to whoſe wiſe adminiſtration do we ſtand indebted for the preſent hopeful ſituation of our affairs?

ARE not they the men, of whom Demoſthenes writes, who in the ſpace of a few years from obſcure and inglorious ſtations, were raiſed to unbounded wealth, and the higheſt poſts of honour? how would this Grecian orator have exerted his eloquence, had he ſeen an inferior limb of the law at Athens become, in a few years, the oracle of the ſtate; amaſs a princely fortune; and grown ſo powerful and ſhameleſs as to controul the ſ——n himſelf? how would he have declaimed againſt *upſtarts*, who by their influence and example encouraged unlawful pleaſures, and ſanctified unjuſt actions: preſumed to diſpoſe of the moſt honourable and profitable promotions in church and ſtate: who, deſpiſing the ancient nobility, engroſſed the adminiſtration of public affairs, and who, having ſecured each department by placing a creature of their own at the head of the exchequer, treaſury, admiralty, war-office, *&c.* had the direction of all proviſions foreign and domeſtic; all diſpatches public or private, and of all treaties for peace or war.

Is Britain to be inſulted by the emiſſaries of ſuch upſtarts? ſhall the juſtice which has overtaken Mr. Byng, be dared to purſue thoſe, to whoſe adminiſtration we are indebted for the preſent hopeful ſituation of our affairs? can nothing but a proof of actual correſpondence with our enemies, or of premeditated deſign to injure our country, be ſufficient to convict them of attempting to encroach to themſelves regal power? of endeavouring to ſubvert the ancient and well eſtabliſhed form of government in this kingdom, and of introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government? of adviſing his majeſty to do many things which might alienate the hearts and affections of his ſubjects from his royal perſon, government, and family? of contriving ſuch laws as tend to alter the conſtitution of this kingdom? of negotiating a peace upon terms diſadvantageous to the intereſt of his majeſty and theſe realms? and of iſſuing out of his majeſty's exchequer ſeveral large ſums of public money for unneceſſary penſions and ſervices, when the dominions of Great Britain have been left deſolate for want of the appointments of parliament applied to extraneous and unconſtitutional uſes? is not any of theſe an accuſation ſufficient to ground an enquiry, and to demand juſtice againſt delinquents? do not we all know and feel that ſuch men have been about the t—e? can ſuch characters as theſe come out more bright from the ſcrutiny? is the people's condeſcention to grant the neceſſary ſupplies to ſupport his majeſty through all diffi-

difficulties, and to vindicate the dignity of his crown againſt the enemy, before they inſiſted upon an enquiry into the cauſe of theſe difficulties and diſhonour, to be traduced by the *Teſt-writer*, with the charge of a long, affected, and unneceſſary delay? does not the miniſter, who has the confidence of the people, and the intereſt of his king and country at heart, diſcloſe the greater capacity and integrity, by ſecuring the reſources of ſtrength and national ſecurity before he enters upon an enquiry, which might involve a ſtate unarmed, unprovided with money, unſettled in council, in great perplexities and diſtreſſes, by the management of thoſe artful and deſperate politicians, whoſe fortunes have increaſed in proportion to the impoveriſhment of the commonwealth?

But now the time is approaching, when juſtice, I hope, will perform her perfect work: one man's life cannot atone for the crimes of the late miniſtry. It was never known that men, who acquired honours by ſtratagem, and became poſſeſſed of wealth above their merit; who in the zenith of their power betrayed the royal confidence; behaved with contempt to the ancient nobility, and unparallelled inſolence to the commonalty in general; and, who to gratify their own ambition and avarice, did not ſtick at any means to engroſs the r—l ear, and to obtain every thing they deſired or wiſhed for; ever were able to divert the juſt reſentment of the nation: to juſtify their miſconduct; to corrupt or to

THOUGH ours is allowed to be the ſtate, which bids faireſt for perpetuity, we may learn from hence that it may be deſtroyed by CORRUPTION. This, if it cannot overcome, will diſarm the warrior; will familiarize misfortunes; will cancel the obligation of truth and juſtice, and will ſo adulterate the love of freedom, as to render it leſs deſireable than ſlavery. This is the engine of arbitrary power, and the grand ſpecific of tyranny and impiety.

WHERE corruption rules, religion becomes an empty ſhew: the preferments in the church are the prizes of venality and proſtitution. Informers are dignified, whilſt honeſt piety ſtarves: and the higheſt order in the church becomes a dead weight upon the conſtitution. It would be melancholy to ſee a church, whoſe biſhops never opened their mouths in the cauſe of diſtreſſed liberty, nor in their viſitations charged their clergy to preach againſt the crying ſin of corruption: and whoſe prieſts made themſelves vile by explaining away the conſcientious ſcruples of the laity.

WHERE a miniſtry ſteers by this chart, titles, and dignities will be conferred on parricides and apoſtates: the art of governing will be reduced to the art of debauching: extraneous and unnatural connections will be preferred to domeſtic ſecurity and glory: foreign politicks will be adopted, and the prince ſhall be flattered for his knowledge of the affairs on the continent, whilſt the ſtateſmen confine themſelves wholly to the art of bribing, fleecing, and ſupplying.

IN

In ſuch a degeneracy, no wonder we ſhould ſee *commerce*, the glory and ſtrength of the Britiſh Empire, cramped, undermined and given up to nations *newly maritime*, for the vileſt purpoſes, and ſhould hear that our merchants have been mal-treated by thoſe, who were paid to protect them: that well peopled colonies have been fetter'd and fleeced by broken gameſters, ſent to repair their fortunes, ruin'd at hazard or elections: that cowards, bravo's and blockheads, have been beaten by Rebels and Indians: and that men have lorded it at the council-board without the education or integrity of ſtateſmen. For, ſhould there ever come a time when the king of Great Britain would truſt his own glory, and the proſperity of the people, in the hands of a chancellor and prime miniſter of ignoble birth or baſe principles; as the King of France once made his barber his chancellor, and the Grand Segnior raiſed his falconers to be vizirs; we might have the mortification to ſee the Britiſh lion forced to lick the feet of inſulting Moors, Malteſe, Tuſcans and Genoeſe; the ſtate diſtreſſed for means to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies; and the nation reduced to beggary at home and contempt abroad.

Yet this was the miſery to which Britain and her king were expoſed, till the groans of a long ſuffering and injured nation reached the throne; and danger alarmed majeſty itſelf. In this criſis thoſe pilots, who had laviſhed away millions without reaſon or ſyſtem, quitted the

helm like cowards; deſerted the ſhip, when it ſeemed ready to ſink; and took up their hatchets, like corniſh ſavages waiting for a wreck, in expectation of acquiring a fortune by the ruin of the ſtate.

CATO alone ſtood in the gap, by the force of that reaſon, which virtue alone can inſpire, like Demoſthenes of old, he rouſed his countrymen, he ſtruck dumb the tongues of thoſe *inſtrumenta regni*, thoſe tools of ſtate, who had engaged to oppoſe their falſe eloquence, to the dictates of true patriotiſm; the genius of Britain prevailed: the force of truth aſtoniſhed thoſe hearts, which corruption had rendered callous: they were convinced, though they wiſhed not to be converted: fear poſſeſſed the daſtardly ſouls, who had juſt cauſe to dread the vengeance of an injured people: they called to mind what happened to a ſet of ſlaves, who ſold their liberties to Richard the Second. The ſhip was left at the mercy of the wind and the waves; like corrupt ſtateſmen, they diſtruſted one another, they reviled one another: each ſtrove to make his peace with the public by calumniating the reſt of the junto.

LIKE an old Roman, PITT retired to his farm, where temperance and frugality reigns. He was implored to take hold of the helm: coalitions were propoſed; but virtue and vice are of an abhorrent nature: the man who had given ſignal proofs of his contempt of riches, from the beſt of motives, accepted of a charge much ſuperior

perior to his bodily infirmities; diſeaſe afflicted his limbs, the diſquietudes of his ſovereign and the wounds of the public tortured his ſoul.

GREAT reformations were promiſed; but, alas, the wiſhes of the public cannot be ſatisfied, while that power and confidence which were promiſed, are withheld. What can the moſt virtuous man do, ſo long as the enemies of virtue, and of the public, ſurround the t——e? For, thoſe tools of corruption, who dread a reformation, ſtand aloof, in hopes of ſeeing the engines of proſtitution ſet again to work. What can Cato do? he ſtruggles with difficulties inexpreſſible, rather than ſuffer the ſtings of inhumanity.

WILL Britons never profit by experience? will not impending ruin, contempt, ſcorn, beggary, nor diſgrace bring us to our ſenſes? are we to find fault with a man for not working miracles? would it be fit to publiſh the *arcana imperij* in the farthing poſt? has he concurred in any one unconſtitutional meaſure? has he not diſpatched a ſquadron to the Eaſt Indies, and another to Jamaica? is there not a powerful ſupply ready for North America? is he not ſifting into the cauſes of our diſgrace? is not the militia bill carrying on? what freeborn Britain can forbear rejoicing at the proſpect of ſuch a bleſſing! muſt not his head be as rotten as his heart, who dares to laugh at ſo natural, ſo conſtitutional a protection? did Edward the Third acquire his laurels with mercenaries? was it with a

ſtanding army, that Edward the Fourth won thirteen pitched battles? had Elizabeth any hirelings? do ſoldiers know any authority, but that of their commanders? was not Cromwel's army compoſed of the beſt diſciplined, and free-born troops? had he not many men of property among them? did not Cæſar enſlave his country by a mercenary army of free Romans? will not falſe honour bring even the officer, who began to tread in the paths of glory, to plunge his ſword in the throat of his patron? if he is under ſuſpicions of any kind, will he not wipe them out with the blood of his very kindred? are not wrongs and indignities eaſily pleaded? did the ſword drawn in defence of liberty never rivet ſlavery? when new funds for taxes are wanted, might not the dragoonade be found a ſhorter way, than even the dull formality of reading of bills? and may there not be found ſecretaries, who ſhall not boggle at iſſuing forth ſuch orders?

ARE not the preliminaries advancing towards an enquiry? are not the capital offenders ſtrongly linked with power and authority? are ſinks of public iniquity to be cleared in a day? do not their partizans throw cold water on ſuch enquiries? are they not ready to heiſt them again into the chair of power?

HAS not the admiral, at laſt, paid for all his offences? was it to be wondered at, that the tenderneſs of relations ſhould plead for a man condemned, and at the ſame time recommended

for

for mercy? did not the inconsistent conduct of his judges create scruples in favour of the convict? were not his judges absurd in their judgment? was not their behaviour to the house of lords a contradiction to their unanimous sentence, and application for mercy? is the life of a citizen, or the honour of the public to be trusted in the hands of a set of men, so unequal to the task by education, and so tender of creating precedents of just severity? how did such a one disgrace the justice of the nation, by absolving an admiral, who fell under many articles, which implied death? who by his pride and ignorance entailed millions of debt, and spilt the blood of thousands? would his dismission only from the service have been an equivalent for such calamities? was there but one only proud friendless lieutenant, who suffered capitally for all the blunders of the last war? was the hero of La Guira not only acquitted of his misconduct in this, and other rencounters, where he took manifest care of his majesty's ships, but also sent, like a firebrand, to inflame the minds of the inhabitants of an island too near the sun? were there ever greater acts of tyranny committed than during the time he had the honour to bear his majesty's commission? and, who was it recommended him?

Was not Byng unfortunate in having the honour of being pitched upon for the service of Minorca, by a set of men, who seem to have devoted that island to destruction, by contriving every

every possible means to disappoint it of relief? what shall we say of the minister who pawned his honour for his courage and abilities? what shall we say of the needless and inhuman severities inflicted on a man before convicted? or, shall we tamely think that the death of one blind tool, can atone for the crimes of greater delinquents?

Was it not the liberty of the press, that opened the eyes of deluded Britons? did not universal addresses and public resentment, at last, open the eyes of royalty? is it not to this blessing that we owe the removal of such unworthy statesmen? has our new minister imposed any restrictions? has he offered a title to an attorney, who screwed law to rob us of the jewel of liberty? does virtue fear clamour? was there ever a nation which enjoyed its liberty after it lost its freedom of speech?

Blush then and be ashamed of your murmurings, pray for the life of the best of kings; pray for the health of the minister, who alone bids fair to avert impending destruction; strengthen his hands; hearken not to any trumpeter of sedition. Can water wash the blackmoor white? can he who is accustomed to do evil learn to do well? can a Catiline, he who has been *alieni prodigus, sui profusus*; can a gamester, a corruptor of youth, become a good steward for the public? is the Oxfordshire election already forgotten?—Tremble for fear his abhorrence of vice should make him quit the ground, where

vice

vice prevails: ſhould make him quit the helm, and drive him back, to retirement! think only what deſolation would accompany an introduction of the old leaven? has our ſtate-pilot cloſeted or bribed any member? has he forfeited his promiſe? what is it that he can do?

HAS not a Temple conducted the affair of his great office, as well as an A——n? Has not Boſcawen fitted out the ſquadrons with as much expedition as ever? Has he done amiſs in giving poſts to two captains, who behaved well in ſloops? Is he acceſſible only, or does he give away commiſſions, juſt according to his good or bad run of luck at White's? Has he commiſſioned ſhips merely for the ſake of making of officers? Are not the convoys properly appointed, and the colonies well protected?

LET faction then droop her head, and Britons rejoice at the happy proſpect of their once more becoming a virtuous and glorious people. Their liberty, glory, and ſtrength were never brought ſo low, but their loyalty, unanimity, and courage prevailed over bad men and bad meaſures. Virtue will ever triumph over vice: for, there reigns a certain providence over human actions, which in an inviſible manner co-operates effectually with our honeſt endeavours. Harry the VIII. had exhauſted his finances, and well nigh ruined the kingdom by his luſts at home, his knight-errantry abroad, and by the vanity of keeping an emperor in his pay: his clergy temporized with his adulteries; his miniſters adviſed

him to ſeize upon the property of the religious: and his parliament confirmed his oppreſſions, leachery, and ſacrilege. Yet when virtue was reſtored, Elizabeth became the protectreſs not only of England, but of the oppreſſed States, and the terror of Philip, who till then aimed at univerſal monarchy. And, tho' it has been found that a miniſter raiſed by univerſal conſent, may be repreſented as proud, inſolent, engroſſing all favour to himſelf and relations, and injuring the king's beſt friends; becauſe he would not conceal the complaints raiſed by the public debts from the royal ear, and honeſtly refuſed to confirm, what the king might weakly grant; as was the caſe of lord chancellor Scroope in the days of Richard the II, it ſhould be an encouragement for men of ſuch an unfaſhionable integrity, that they are recorded amongſt glorious magiſtrates, upright miniſters, and faithful patriots; who have driven ſycophants and public robbers from about the throne, and reſtored peace and proſperity to their king and country.

E.

No. 90. SATURDAY, *April* 9, 1757.

———*Mox reficit rateis*
Quaſſas,——

HOR.

Extract of a Letter from on Board the OLD ENGLAND *Man of War at Sea.*

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

OUR ſhip always bore the character of a prime ſailor, and was once reputed to be the beſt manned and the beſt officer'd. No ſhip was better diſciplined nor ſo well provided againſt an enemy. But by the credulity of our captain, and the flattery of a few upſtarts, who had neither abilities, honeſty, nor courage, this brave ſhip has been permitted, for upwards of thirty years, to run to decay. We have now kept the ſea with the utmoſt difficulty ever ſince the year 1742: For, though it was at that time in as foul and unfit condition for ſailing, as any veſſel ever was, yet it was neither careened nor docked; and during this long cruize, we have by the ignorance and knaviſhneſs of the upſtart pilots, been expoſed to ſuch a variety of

diſtreſs, and for their private views and ſelfiſh ends kept in ſuch rocky and tempeſtuous ſeas, that the moſt ſkilful mariners amongſt us have daily expected nothing leſs than certain ſhipwreck.

THIS naturally produced great diſcontent and murmurings in the ſhip's company, whoſe ALL was at ſtake: and ſome of our beſt and wiſeſt men had ſpirit enough to remonſtrate againſt their proceedings, and to point out the propereſt courſe and ſteerage to ſave the veſſel and themſelves. But the men entruſted with the helm, having ſecured the purſer, gunner, boatſwain, and carpenter to their intereſt, deſpiſed our remonſtrances and inſtructions; and that they might for the future prevent all oppoſition to their carrying on an illicit trade, by hovering about the enemy's ſhore, inſtead of bending their courſe to the deſtined rendezvous, they artfully contrived (under pretence of their peculiar regard for his perſon and intereſt) to confine our captain to his cabbin, and then, by ſnubbing and brow-beating the braveſt, moſt ſkilful, and honeſt part of the crew, they ſo managed, as, by a guard of ſwabbers, to keep them under hatches.

SUCH reſtraints upon liberty have ſometimes raiſed a clamour amongſt us: when the keel raked upon a ſhoal, or the current threatened to run us upon a rock, that has alarmed our captain, and obliged the pilots to permit a few to come upon deck, and paſs their muſter: but to pre-

prevent their coming to an explanation of their hard fate, and his own danger with the captain, the cabbin-door, on all ſuch occaſions, was double guarded by their tools; while they themſelves were perpetually inſtilling into the captain's head all the jealouſies they could invent of the fidelity and abilities of thoſe few, whom neither oppreſſion nor confinement could force into their meaſures. They repreſented them to be of a reſtleſs and intriguing ſpirit, and for ever hatching ſome ſcheme to poiſon the affections of his crew againſt him, only waiting an opportunity of throwing off their obedience to his authority, and of raiſing another captain to the command of the *Old England*; with whom, they pretended to know, theſe experienced navigators were in ſecret league.

BY theſe means the captain was deceived and prejudiced againſt his beſt navigators, and they were forcibly kept from his preſence. As to the reſt: they who carried about them any favourable ſymptoms of baſeneſs, were admitted to ſhare the ſpoils of their iniquity.

THESE pimps and underlings did all the buſineſs for their maſters: for, except when a flag of truce came on board from the enemy in regard to their private traffic, which always happened whenever it was convenient to the ſchemes of our enemies that our ſhips ſhould not cruize in the latitude, where their buſineſs was carried on, they ſpent their whole time in playing at cheſs and hazard with ſuch of the midſhipmen, as

were ſeeking for promotion at the expence of honour and honeſty: for he was eſteemed the moſt dextrous gameſter, and ſtood the faireſt chance of recommending himſelf to the favour of his maſter, who could cheat them the cleaneſt; and theſe midſhipmen, being for the moſt part, a ſet of cunning arch-fellows and endowed with more ſenſe by half than their patrons, ſaved their own allowance, and puſhed themſelves into their maſter's meſs; who kept a much better table than the captain himſelf; for by keeping a good look out, they never wanted good cheer, ſmuggled from the enemy's ſhore; and by concealing the counter-band trade from the captain, they engroſſed the profits to themſelves. Beſides, as they were in with the purſer, they regarded no expence to pleaſe their appetites: and, at laſt were ſo barefaced to ſtop as much as they thought proper out of the pay of the ſhip's company, when other funds could not anſwer the demands of their extravagances. This however was attended with ſome difficulty in regard to the captain, whoſe conſent was neceſſary to carry ſuch reſolutions into execution. But this was alſo obtained by tickling his ears with declarations of their entire obedience, and terrifying him with the neceſſity of thoſe oppreſſive meaſures for his ſervice and the ſupport of his authority.

They knew that if the crew were permitted to have all their pay at their own diſpoſal, they would have no occaſion to run in debt with the purſer, for brandy and tobacco; and that by this

contrivance

contrivance he would be able to keep the ſturdy ones in tolerable ſubmiſſion; and in caſe any of them dared to winch, it would be in his power to threaten them with the mutiny bill, and to refuſe them a cann of flip for a week or ten days together: this alſo was well calculated to weaken the oppoſition to their uſurpations upon the captain and ſhip's company. For, in all ſhips there have been found ſome ſneaking liquoriſh fellows, who, tired of living upon beef and pork and mouldy biſcuit, give up their liberty and turn informers for the ſake of indulging their palate with the offals of an upper table. But certainly it was never ſo viſible as in the *Old England*. For, we have loſt more of our crew by the poiſoned politicks of the cook-room than by any other means. The very ſavoury and high flavoured ſauces, with which our pilots entertain the unwary and unexperienced, operate more effectually to weaken our union than either threats or reſtraints: for, when once a man has got a ſnack of their trenchers, he too often retains a hankering after the honey-pot; and cannot tell how to reliſh a huſky and inſipid biſcuit. And by theſe extravagances they themſelves at laſt found, that they had brought us to beggary. The ſhip was very near drained of all its proviſions: and the money had been all ſent a ſhore to ſupport their luxury. This diſcovery increaſed the clamours of the crew: even ſome of their own creatures, who ſaw that all was ſoon like to be over with them, joined the loudeſt in the cry,

and vowed they would never lick another ſpit belonging to them.

EVERY body, in ſhort, began to grow ſerious. For, the men had all got a notion, that the private traffic carried on by thoſe at the helm had treacherouſly conſigned to the enemy a great part of our moſt valuable territories, from whence our ſhip had all her maſts; and thereby laid us under a neceſſity to put up with ſuch as the enemy would pleaſe to grant us. Beſides, many circumſtances created a ſuſpicion, that our ports were all going to the ſame market, and that we very ſoon ſhould not have a harbour to put into.

UPON this rumour never, ſure! was ſuch a hubbub heard. And the midſhipmen became more reſolute on the crew's ſide; their courage increaſed with the danger of their ſhip; and we could obſerve that they looked very bluff whenever a lick-ſpit came in their way, and that they were plaguily out of humour with the pilots.

THE foremaſtmen thus encouraged, ſpit in their hands, and ſwore they would, to a man, mount the quarter deck; and were, with much difficulty prevented by remonſtrances, that ſuch a procedure, how well ſoever intended, would expoſe them to the penalties of the mutiny-bill, and give their officers a more plauſible argument to oppreſs them: and by adviſing them firſt to depute ſome of their moſt ſteady and ſenſible friends to watch an opportunity to lay their grievances in a decent and ſtrong manner before the captain, and to beg his countenance and aſſiſtance with their endeavours to ſave the ſhip. In fine,

CON-

confuſion and diſcontent prevailed ſo much in every quarter, that it was not poſſible to hinder their acceſs to the captain; who, under great ſurprize to hear ſuch complaints againſt thoſe, who pretended to be his beſt friends, gave his word and honour that he would do his beſt for our common preſervation.

THIS interview between the captain and the repreſentatives of the crew, not only brought on an explanation of the cauſe of our preſent bad ſituation; but ſtruck the daſtardly pilots with ſuch a pannic, that, quite diſpirited and broke down, they gave greater tokens of fear than any of us; they were ſo diſheartened to ſee the cabbin-door opened to the crew, that they could not look a common man in the face; and under the weight of their ſhame, and the depreſſion of their ſpirits, they quitted the ſtern; ſneaked away to the forecaſtle, and ſet down to all fours.

THE helm thus deſerted, the captain was convinced of the danger to which the ſhip was expoſed, and of the inability of the gameſters to conduct her ſafe into port; and called about him in a great hurry for WILL the Weſt-countryman, and ordered him up to his cabbin directly; for he was well known by every body on board to be the beſt ſailor in the ſhip, and to be a very honeſt man. The cabal always knew that, and had tried every way to bring him into their meſs; for they knew the crew had a great opinion of WILL. But WILL was not a man for their purpoſe: for when they wanted him to ſet down

with

with them to backgammon or all fours, he was always a minding which way the wind was; and when they expected him to be dipping his fingers in the ſtew pans, and giving his opinion about the ſeaſoning of their ſoups, they could not keep his eye from off the compaſs and the log-board: but he would be every now and then bawling out, ſo loud that he might be almoſt heard in the captain's cabbin, that we were loſing way, at the very time when the pilots wanted to perſuade us, that we were gaining *ten or twelve knots in an hour*, in the direct courſe we were bound. Beſides this, WILL had made all their creatures and hangers-on his enemies; becauſe he would not ſuffer them to cheat the common men in their pay. For which reaſons the whole clan of them had given WILL quite over, turned him out of their meſs, and given him to underſtand, that he had better betake himſelf down into the hold: and they ſet a FOX to bark at him, continually.

HERE the captain's inquiries found poor WILL ſick in his hammock. However, as ſoon as he could, he hobbled upon deck, and, having made an obſervation, ſet the Captain right, and told him the true ſtate of the ſhip and her bearings. WILL directly informed us what latitude we were in, and aſſured us that we were quite out of our courſe, yet we might get into it again, if we would but truſt the working of the ſhip to the Engliſh ſailors, and order ſome Laſcars from the ſhrouds, whom the clan had taken on board, partly to pleaſe the captain; and partly to defend them

them from the reſentment of their own crew, which they had for ſome time foreſeen, muſt ſoon unavoidably befal them.

So WILL took to the helm; the Laſcars looked ſour; but the whole Engliſh gave him a round huzza. He immediately put the ſhip about; and the wind favouring, tho' the ſhip was plaguy foul and leaky, we ſoon got into the right courſe. WILL ſent the Laſcars away directly, and ſwore he would truſt none but Engliſh ſailors: however to keep things quiet he paid them all their wages, and put a bit of money over and above into their pockets. The old cabal, who had been before ſo inſolent and ſaucy, and were always jawing at WILL and his comrades, now began to ſing another tune, and pretended they would help WILL, if he would let them ſtand at the helm. WILL told them he knew their tricks; that they were a parcel of raſcals, and they ſhould not touch the helm with a little finger. He then ſet to work in order to get the ſhip to rights. He ſent every where for proviſions, for the crew had been a good while at ſhort allowance. He filled up the crew to its fulleſt compliment, but took care to have none but Engliſh ſailors; he patched up as well as he could the damages done to the maſts and the rigging, and ordered ſome of the men to ſcrape the filth from the ſhip's ſides, intending, as ſoon as he got her into harbour, to give her a thorough ſcrubbing and to new ſheath her bottom. But here the roguery of the old clan was found out. The fellows that had been uſed to be imployed in pay-

ing her ſides and bottom, had, at every turn, pick-ed ſomething out of the ſhip. Sometimes they pocketed a few nails, at another time they would rip off a piece of plank, and then they ſmeared the defect over with tallow; ſo that when the ſhip came to be examined, it was found that ſhe was ſcarce able to ſwim. This made a great uproar in the ſhip, and the clan thinking themſelves undone, and finding that WILL was obſtinate in his reſolutions to bring them to juſtice, they got into the captain's cabin in the night and began to terrify him with ſtories that WILL was run mad. That inſtead of going about among the crew and drinking ſlip with one, and giving a dram or chaw of tobacco to another, to keep them in humour, which they inſiſted was the *only* buſineſs of a pilot; he imployed his whole time in manning and repairing the ſhip, in giving orders to the under officers, or in making obſervations on the ſhip's courſe. Nay, they complained he ſpent two or three hours every night a ſtar-gazing. Beſides, they ſaid WILL was eaten up with the gout: and how could a fellow with ſwelled legs know how to guide the helm. The captain, they ſay, never loved WILL; as he was uſually about his buſineſs in the ſhip inſtead of attending to make his court in the cabbin, which the others did day and night. Theſe ſtories made an impreſſion on the captain. Beſides he had a vaſt opinion of the Laſcars, and thought they were the only ſailors in the world, and he did not approve WILL's reſolution never

to

to enter any more of them on the ſhip's books. But, as WILL was the idol of the crew, and they were all convinced that he had now put them into the right courſe, it was not ſafe to turn him down from the helm, and therefore they tried once more to prevail on him to let in ſome of the old clan: but WILL was obſtinate. He told the captain very civilly that he had took to the helm when the ſhip was juſt aground, and the other fellows had deſerted it: That he had put the ſhip into the right courſe and brought her into ſmooth water: that whenever it was the captain's pleaſure he would go from the helm and do what he could to prevent any mutiny on the occaſion; but the ſhip would never go right, if, when he was pulling the helm a-weather, the captain ſhould let another fellow ſtand by him and puſh it a-lee.

THE captain loves the old clan and does not like WILL. The old clan are deſperate and are reſolved rather than fail to toſs him overboard. The crew ſwear, that, if they touch a hair of his head, ſome folks ſhall ſmart for it. But we are all in an uproar; for though WILL has put our crazy ſhip into a good fighting condition, and ſtopped her leaks; we are juſt now alarm'd with the captain's reſolution to turn WILL off, and to ſet ſome ſtrange fellows to command, who we fear are inſenſible or regardleſs of our danger, and ready to reſume the bad meaſures of the old cabal; and, perhaps, take out half of our crew

and

and ſend them to man another ſhip of the captain's in the Laſcar country.

No. 91. SATURDAY, *April* 16, 1757.

When vice prevails and impious men bear ſway,
The poſt of honour is a private ſtation.
ADDISON's CATO.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

CATO having ſurvived the liberty of his country, firſt weakened by vice, then impoveriſhed by its rulers; and, at laſt ſubdued by its own army; and being ſpent, overpowered, deſpairing of ſucceſs in his endeavours to reform and preſerve a corrupt ſtate, wreſtling with vice and faction, adviſes his ſon to retreat betimes from a court, in which there were no hopes of amendment, and to retire to his country ſeat, there to pray for the peace of his country, and to be content with being obſcurely good. Becauſe, the moſt certain means of preſerving our integrity is to withdraw from thoſe, who are of abandoned principles; when it is not in our power to reſtrain their ambition, nor ſtem their vicious and deſpotic meaſures.

AN

AN advice not peculiar to Cato; but common to the beſt and greateſt men in all ages and nations: who have always ſhone with greater luſtre in their private ſtations, when driven from the government by vicious and impious men; than thoſe, who brought on the ruin of their country by force and immorality: and who, by their example, as well as precept, have convinced us that it is as impoſſible, for a miniſtry, over-ruled by a factious cabal of deſperate fortunes, gameſters, men without religion, and aſpiring to arbitrary power; to preſerve the conſtitution of their country, the honour of their nation, and the property of the ſubject from injury, diſgrace and loſs; as it is for freedom and ſlavery, ambition and public ſpirit, light, and darkneſs, virtue and vice to exiſt together.

CAN it be poſſible for a free ſtate to maintain its privilege, where the governors place their ſecurity in the corruption of the guardians of the people and a ſtanding army; and their perpetuity in ſowing diſcord amongſt the ſubjects, and, by miſrepreſentations, deprive them of that mutual love and confidence, which are neceſſary for the tranquility and proſperity of the king and his people? where was it known that the miniſter, who has fixed his heart on riches, and is determined, at all events, to gratify his ambition at the expence of thoſe, who are committed to his power or juſtice for protection and redreſs, ever conſidered the public good in any other view than as ſhould the moſt effectually

put

put him in poſſeſſion of a large eſtate, and adorn him with titles of honour? can it be expected that one, whoſe natural capacity is too weak to qualify him for a clerk, or whoſe acquired abilities are preſcribed by a little low craft to invent ways and means to deceive his friends, to ſilence oppoſition, and to oppreſs the whole community, ſhould be a proper director at the head of the treaſury, admiralty, war office, or navy? or that the moſt diſcerning and honeſt aſſeſſors, at the treaſury or admiralty board, were able to prevent the miſapplication of the public money; or to obtain the neceſſary appointments of our fleets, when little genius's and egregious flatterers have been protected and dared to make ſecure an intereſt in their prince by wronging the ſubject? and it might be as well ſuppoſed that heaven and hell may be in league, as to expect that religion and moral honeſty can be encouraged by the influence of infidels, gameſters, debauchees, and of men, who connive at all vice, which confirms their own authority.

THIS was the diſmal proſpect of the ſtate, when CATO in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, cried out.

O Liberty! O Virtue! O my Country!

And this has and muſt be always the caſe where *vice prevails and impious men bear ſway.* Becauſe neither the throne nor the ſenate; neither the ſovereign nor the people can be proof againſt their ſecret and deſperate attempts. If the king

is to be ſecured to their intereſt, they terrify him with treaſons, unthought of by his ſubjects: if a majority is neceſſary to carry a point in parliament againſt the conſtitution, they oppreſs the people with heavy taxes to corrupt their repreſentatives: and if the nation pretend to murmur at their loſſes and grievous burdens, a ſtanding army properly ſtationed, or an invaſion conjured up to countenance the importation of foreign forces, have been found ready expedients to make a diſarmed people ſubmit to the yoke.

THESE, like the traitor Syphax, try to ſubdue the principles of faith, honour and juſtice in their prince; and, with Sempronius, conceal their thoughts, cover their frauds thick with art, bellow out for Rome, and for their country, mouth at faction, till they ſhake the ſenate with appearances of their public ſpirit and profeſſions of being Cato's friends; but at the ſame time they practiſe upon the army, and the factious leaders, being gained over, ſpread murmurs and diſcontents among their ſoldiers, till they make them ripe to ſtorm the ſenate-houſe; to bid defiance to Cato, and to deſtroy that conſtitution for whoſe protection they were raiſed.

BY ſuch means Rome was undone: and though Britain is eſteemed the happieſt nation upon earth; the nurſe of heroes; the delight of gods; that humbled the proud tyrants of the earth, and had ſet other nations free; yet if her people ſhould be once over-run with vice: if they ſeek after nothing but what ſhall enable

them to outdoe one another in pride, luxury and intemperance: if religion is once regarded no farther than an engine of ſtate to keep the lower claſs in awe, or to qualify ſome for places of worldly advantage; or to preſerve an important decency; or, perhaps, to cover ſome fraud in private life, or ſome deſign againſt the public; if every one can be brought to ſeek after his own, at the riſk of the public good; and by a bribe or a place, under the government, for a ſon, a nephew, relation or friend, be prevailed with to vote for a repreſentative of corrupt and arbitrary principles: if it could be poſſible for Britons to imagine they are providing for their families by the price of their votes, when it is certain that the very bribe they receive muſt come out of their own pockets, and, in time, eat out the marrow of their labour and eſtates: if they, whoſe anceſtors obtained for them their boaſted liberties, at the price of their blood, and delivered it down by their advice and example, that they would make the beſt choice of their guardians in parliament, when they made it from amongſt their neighbouring gentlemen, whoſe knowledge of their circumſtances and mutual intereſt intitled them to their favour and confidence; ſhould by a profuſion of drink and money, or by the influence of miniſterial agents, be induced to prefer the application of a candidate they never heard of before; of one, whoſe luſt ought to exclude him from the company of our wives and daughters; whoſe extravagances and prodigality

make him unfit for the diſpoſing of our wealth; and who only ſeeks an opportunity and power to ſupport himſelf by embracing every ſcheme laid for the ruin of his country; Britain muſt alſo be undone.

SHOULD there come a time when our crimes have ſo increaſed, that they who ſit in high places hate the light, and thoſe that tell truth; when it ſhall be criminal in the firm patriot, who makes the welfare of mankind his care, to remonſtrate dutifully to his king, againſt meaſures, which expoſe the country to danger from abroad, exhauſt the exchequer, and create diſcontent at home: when to purſue the authors of our griefs and loſſes with juſtice, to enquire into and puniſh the miſconduct of former miniſters of ſtate; to provide for the internal ſafety of the nation; to reconcile all parties to the ſovereign and his family; to reject all coalition with men, whoſe politicks had almoſt ruined their king and country; to prefer the real intereſt of Britain to any foreign connections, and to ſtrengthen the hands of government by reducing the over-grown burthen of placemen and penſioners; ſhall bring diſgrace upon the virtuous and wiſe miniſter, and reduce him to the exiſtence of a private man; Britain will require our tears.

How much more would it afflict our hearts to ſee vice prevail; to hear that every artery of the conſtitution is corrupted by vice and faction: and to be informed that the treaſury is committed to men, who are poor, profuſe, and with-

out honour: that the admiralty is ſuperintended by cowards, effeminate and unſkilful pilots: and that every department eſtabliſhed for truſt and diſpatch of buſineſs in ſupport of the credit and property of the kingdom, is filled and made ſubſervient to a man, whoſe finances bring his credit into ſuſpicion; whoſe ſtrength muſt depend upon the impoveriſhment of the ſubject; whoſe intereſt is to protect delinquents, and who rakes brothels and gaming houſes for officers and ſtateſmen. When ſuch impious men bear ſway, the enemy rejoiceth; they diſarm the ſubjects; load their country with debts and taxes: neglect the national commerce; give up thoſe appendages, which are the ſecurity and nurſery of navigation; promote the unlearned, vicious and time-ſerving to the cure of ſouls, and admit none into poſts of truſt, but ſuch, as they are ſatisfied will be always ready to aſſiſt them to ſubdue the hearts of a free people, and to work them down by time and ill ſucceſs to a ſubmiſſion.

SUCH men might endeavour by hireling pens, to ſanctify their impiety to God and their country; and to recommend them for virtues, to which they have no claim; but, with Cato, every true Briton would cry;

Curſe on their virtues! they've undone their conutry.

Their pride, oppreſſion, and injuſtice might reign for a ſhort time: but the genius of Britain would never, by a baſe ſubmiſſion, give up the

conſtitution to the intrigues of vice and faction: while every true ſon of liberty, every ſincere friend to his king and country will not only deteſt the evil thing, which threatens the wrath of heaven upon the offenders; but will follow the diſgraced patriot to his country retreat, with bleſſings and good wiſhes, and with all the tokens of love and gratitude: his virtues ſhall reſound in every mouth: his name ſhall be revered by the children yet unborn, and his private ſtation rendered more honourable than the higheſt poſts of thoſe, who live in continual combat with the liberties of their country. For we muſt not forget the words, which Cato pronounced, on the like occaſion, over the remains of the Roman liberties.

Remember, O my friends, the laws, the rights,
The gen'rous plan of pow'r deliver'd down,
From age to age, by your renown'd forefathers,
(So dearly bought, the price of ſo much blood)
O let it never periſh in your hands!
But piouſly tranſmit to your children.
Do thou, great LIBERTY, inſpire our ſouls,
And make our lives in thy poſſeſſion happy,
Or our deaths glorious in thy juſt defence.
Z.

No. 92. SATURDAY, *April* 23, 1757.

Ita cuique eveniat, ut de republica quiſque mereatur.

Cic. Philip. ii.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

HAPPY is the ſovereign, who rules over a people, able and ready to ſupport his crown and dignity; endued with wiſdom and integrity to diſcern and detect evil counſellors, and not afraid to demonſtrate their loyalty and public ſpirit in the purſuit of juſtice, againſt the authors of their inquietudes and misfortunes; and to give due praiſe, with tokens of their gratitude and applauſe, to thoſe, who, entruſted with the honour and dignity of the crown, and the liberties and ſecurity of the nation, have diſtinguiſhed their adminiſtration by diſintereſted and conſtitutional meaſures.

BRITONS need not ſpend their time by ſeeking for examples of theſe truths in ancient hiſtory. Their forefathers have left many precedents of their watchfulneſs over the meaſures of thoſe counſellors that environed the throne; of their hanging ſuch as merited a halter for their miſ-

leading

leading the king, and attempting to ruin the kingdom; and of their idolizing others, whoſe actions were calculated to promote the intereſt and glory of their king and country.

How natural! how nearly bordering upon ſelf-preſervation is it to cut off the cauſe of our danger and misfortunes? domeſtic errors contribute to national ruin and foreign invaſion: therefore as a courſe of miſmanagements, of ambition and avarice, of an evil and corrupt adminiſtration, has generally preceded all revolutions; the good people of England have always had an eye on their conſtitution, when leading men have made it their ſtudy to ſupplant, decry, and oppreſs each other, and when they have diſcovered that attempts were made to pervert the ſubject to ſerve narrow and corrupt purpoſes of particular and corrupt leaders, not animated by public zeal, but to join with them in meaſures for debauching and enſlaving their country.

Our ſafety depends upon impartiality, juſtice, zeal for the public, and a ſteady adherence to its intereſt: and where theſe are wanting, neither large territories nor powerful fleets nor armies can prevent our deſtruction. A luxurious and debauched adminiſtration may as eaſily ſport away a kingdom, as their own private fortunes. Abuſe of power makes corruption neceſſary: corruption produces baſeneſs, luxury, and the privation of all virtue: and theſe generate uſurpation and tyranny. What brought Athens to the brink of ruin in the Peloponneſian war, but the decay

of public ſpirit and national virtue? how did Alcibiades and Cæſar deſtroy the liberties of a free people? but by debauching their morals: and ſo miſerably corrupt were the Romans, when liberty preſented herſelf to them on the death of the dictator, that they had neither courage nor honeſty to accept of her. This has been, and ever muſt be the fatal caſe of every ſtate, where private ambition and private intereſt are adopted and carried on under public pretences.

YET, how unnatural ſoever this conduct in a miniſtry may appear: how contemptible ſoever would it be to contrive means for betraying one's country: Britain itſelf has ſeverely felt the effects of the artifice and cunning of a miniſter, who boaſted, that he knew the price of every man's integrity. But both he and thoſe, who governed on the ſame principles, brought upon themſelves the curſes and the reſentment of their country; and their endleſs diſhoneſty, which made them look upon all mankind to be villains, and ready to deſert them for greater advantage, was attended with endleſs anxieties.

GREATNESS acquired in the cauſe of liberty is a moſt noble acquiſition: and though it cannot be placed above obloquy and detraction from the envious and vicious, it is enjoyed with ſatisfaction. But power and pomp purchaſed by the groans of a people, are both deteſtable and periſhable. Sejanus was inveſted with more power than any modern miniſter; but when he provoked the people to aſſert their liberties a-

gainſt

gainſt his uſurpations and impoſitions, they dragged him through the ſtreets with a hook in his noſe; and threw his body into the Tiber: Neither his palaces built with the public money, nor the authority of his ſtation being ſufficient to protect ſuch a monſter from the rage of an injured people. Such as are ſuſpected of betraying the public truſt, or of injuring the conſtitution of their country, muſt never expect to be ſafe, or to go unpuniſhed. Enmity to the public will bring public hatred; hatred leads immediately to revenge. They, who accept of the direction of national affairs, and model them upon the ſole principle of private intereſt, will never want this uneaſy reflection, *that moſt men hate them*; *and the beſt men abhor them.* Where then is their ſatisfaction of mind? it is impoſſible to enjoy the empty praiſes of ſycophants, when they know every action draws upon them the curſes of an injured multitude!

CAN it be poſſible for a kingdom; whoſe exchequer has been exhauſted by applications of the public money without conſent of parliament; to forbear bringing into queſtion the integrity and oeconomy of thoſe, to whoſe care it was entruſted? would it not create ſtrong ſuſpicions, that there was an intention to reſign or deſert thoſe nurſeries of our navigation and the greateſt market for our ſtaple commodities, when the gentlemen at the helm leave our American empire naked and defenceleſs, and ſhew no inclination to provide effectually for its ſecurity a-

gainſt

peace to his people. Faction was ſtruck dumb. Loyalty and public ſpirit became the baſis of every meaſure. Foreign connections were not diſregarded: neither were they admitted to the chief attention of the Britiſh policy. Our allies were not to be deſerted: neither were we to enter as principals into their quarrels: they were to be aſſiſted, but not in ſuch a manner as to impoveriſh, weaken, and leave the Britiſh dominions defenceleſs, and our trade and navigation expoſed to certain deſtruction. Every meaſure ſuggeſted by prudence and oeconomy, was planned for redeeming this nation from the annual increaſe of taxes and its enormous debt; a well regulated militia, to leſſen the number of ſtanding mercenary forces, and to ſecure the internal peace and ſafety of this iſland effectually, was ſtrongly recommended to the legiſlature. Britiſh liberties were no longer to be truſted to the guardianſhip of Heſſian and Hanoverian hirelings. America became the chief object of our armaments; and France the pole to which all our councils and operations pointed. The ruinous ſyſtem of thoſe miniſters, which requires the aid of placemen and penſioners, was deſpiſed and aboliſhed: the people were no longer to be oppreſſed with expedients to pay penſions and ſalaries to men, who ſell their liberties and eat the fat of the land, and the labour of the poor in idleneſs. A free parliament and a diſembarraſſed miniſtry were ready to puniſh the authors of our troubles and loſſes, and to put the throne and

the

the nation, the act of ſettlement, and the bill of rights, out of the power of ſycophants and traitors, to make them any longer the means of diſcontent, or the engines of faction: when on a ſudden ſorrow appears in every face; a national gloom ſpreads over the countenance of every well-wiſher to his king and country. The miniſtry, which deſerved ſo well of their country is no more.

But here we may ſee an exemplification of the ancient Britiſh ſpirit; and of the wiſdom to diſtinguiſh between men diſgraced for mal-conduct; and miniſters diſplaced who have given ſtrong proofs of their ſteady attachment to the conſtitution of their country.

We hear no reproaches, no imputations, no demands of juſtice: but, on the contrary, every city is ſtriving, who ſhall firſt imitate the gratitude of London, with their freedom preſented to the firm patriots, who have retired, content to make the approbation of their own conduct, one part at leaſt of their reward. And herein they exalt the character of the true patriot; who, as he ſeeks for neither place nor honour, riches nor power, will never exchange the quiet of his mind, nor the good wiſhes of his countrymen, for all the advantages, which can be tendered to make him forfeit either.

The firm patriot has a general benevolence towards the happineſs of his fellow-ſubjects, and cannot taſte that unnatural contentment of being

alone

alone eaſy, amongſt the many that are miſerable; eſpecially where they would be miſerable by his means. He is always ſure of this virtue, never to ſacrifice the public good to his private paſſion or intereſt. When the ſtate is endangered by faction, or by a depraved miniſtry, he accepts of power, that he may exert it to the utmoſt of his abilities, for the welfare of his country. As in the ſenate, ſo in the cabinet, he dares to declare ſuch truths, as princes ſeldom hear from corrupt ſervants; and boldly at the council-board oppoſes deſtructive meaſures. Rather than condeſcend to be the tool of unnatural aids and ſubſidies, he prefers the ſafety and love of his country to the favour of a court. He deſpiſes the menaces of an ignorant, debauched and daring faction, that ſeek every opportunity to beſet the th——e. He tries his intereſt with his prince for obtaining points purely national. He ſcorns to ſteal places in reverſion, or a patent from his agonizing country for himſelf or friends: and ſhould theſe virtues diſqualify him from holding his office any longer, he receives his diſmiſſion with humility and a perfect reſignation to the will of his Prince; carrying in his own boſom the reward of a good conſcience. He ceaſes not to employ in the ſenate that eloquence, which virtue alone can inſpire to detect and expoſe the falſe arts and evil tendency of meaſures, propoſed by blind and wicked ſtateſmen.

BEHOLD the two patriots! invited by the citizens of London to accept of their freedom, in token

token of the great regard paid by that city and the whole nation, to their integrity and love of their country: will not every honeſt man revere that public ſpirit, which a degenerate age cannot bear? And when clouds may ſtill thicken; when falſe pilots may have multiplied the ſorrows of a ſuffering people; they may again implore his m——y to caſt his cares on ſervants, ſo faithful and obedient to their king and country, and able to avert impending ruin. Like Scipio of old, a good patriot will not heſitate to leave a frugal farm to ſave a ſinking ſtate. In hiſtory, that faithful monitor, which flattereth not a deified Auguſtus, the ſhort ſervices of ſuch a miniſter, will be enrolled with a Seneca, Burrhus, Cecil, and Sully; while the memory of a Sejanus, Pallas, and Walp——e will ſtink like that vermin we call a fox, in the noſtrils of poſterity.

No. 93. SATURDAY, *April* 30, 1757.

Vituperandus eſt, qui in reipublicæ diſcrimine ſuæ, plus quam communi ſaluti conſulit.
CIC. lib. 4. ad *Herennium.*

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT is a moſt unpardonable fault for any perſon to comfort himſelf with vain hopes of eſcaping with his life and property, if he retires between decks or remains inactive, when the ſhip is in danger of being ſeized by pirates, or of being loſt for want of ſkilful pilots at the helm, or hands to work her in a tempeſtuous ſea, and to ſtop her leaks.

Is it leſs culpable? or, ought not every member of the commonwealth to be aſhamed of the folly, did they confine their attention and endeavours to private advantage; ſhew no inclination for the public good; give up the management of the revenue, the diſpoſal of the treaſury and the power of the nation to men of no probity, unequal abilities, deſperate fortunes and unconſtitutional principles? The Roman orator brands him with ignominy, who acts upon a ſelfiſh intereſt, when the ſtate is in danger. Becauſe he fruſtrates the very intention of ſociety, which is

to

to unite for the common ſafety; and he muſt inevitably periſh in the univerſal cataſtrophe of his country. No ſtate can preſerve its independency without a perfect unity in its members: nor can the property and liberty of any private member ſurvive the ruin of the conſtitution.

WHAT then ought they to do, who live in a free ſtate agitated by the billows of faction, which threaten to daſh her in pieces againſt the ſhore of corruption? in a ſtate, whoſe ſervants attempt to rule by a deſpotic power; and to maintain their footing by placemen, penſioners and a ſtanding army: and where the guardians of the public ſafety are bought by public money to repeal the liberties of the ſubject, and to eſtabliſh a military government.

WHEN the helm is ſeized by vicious and impious men: when the glory of a nation is committed to *novi homines*; men newly ſprung up from baſe or ſervile parentage; and of confined knowledge: when the public money is truſted to men of unbounded ambition and avarice: to ſpendthrifts and gameſters: when the exchequer is proſtituted to corrupt the people, and to fill the ſenate-houſe with members of no property nor integrity, in oppoſition to the opulent, independent, and virtuous: when the people are continually weakened and diſabled, from counteracting the engines of their deſtruction, by new laws to impoveriſh and to diſarm them: and when their terrors daily increaſe at home with

the augmentation of a ſtanding military force; and abroad with the neglect of thoſe means, which Providence has enabled them to provide againſt the common enemy; it is the duty of every individual to join in ſuch meaſures, as loyalty, liberty, juſtice and prudence might ſuggeſt to preſerve that nation from the deſtruction, which ſuch miniſters would inevitably bring upon their king and country.

THEN is the time for the firm patriot to give a genuine teſt of his love for his country, and his attachment to his ſovereign. Then every member of the ſociety, being concerned in the event, is called out to his aſſiſtance. And every delay of proper means to deliver the conſtitution, from ſuch weak and wicked men, is an addition to their power, and a certain indication of its deſtruction.

WHAT would it avail a Briton to be allowed to boaſt of his freedom, and at the ſame time not permitted to carry a firelock, fit to kill a hare or a partridge; but forced to ſubmit to be guarded by a foreign army? who could be ſure of his property at home; if his eſtate and labour ſhould be perpetually taxed and mortgaged by the ruinous meaſures of a miniſtry? or, of his commerce abroad; if the navigation is left expoſed to the enemy, while the ſhips of war are converted into nurſeries of penſioners, and of *petit maiſtres*, and their fair companions? what would it ſignify to be intitled by the original laws of the land to chuſe repreſentatives every three

 years;

years; and be forced to acquieſce in a ſeptennial parliament of a miniſterial creation? or to boaſt of a free parliament, which from the moment of their election, apprehend themſelves at liberty to vote contrary to the inſtructions of their conſtituents, and to gratify a miniſter with their voices at the public expence? or, what ſecurity could the ſubject have againſt the encroachments of the crown, where a miniſter ſhould be able to influence the guardians of the people to repeal original contracts, made for their ſecurity againſt foreign intereſt and domeſtic cabals?

To ſay this was never the caſe of a once brave, opulent and wiſe people, would not anſwer the character of that faithful Monitor, which always ſpeaketh truth: and whenever they ſuffered their courage to be curbed, their ſubſtance to be drained, and their wiſdom to be corrupted, they became a prey to their ſervants, and the contempt of their enemies.

Let us then avoid the imputation of careleſs and ſelfiſh ſpectators. Britons have a right to be jealous of their liberties, and to addreſs the throne for redreſs of grievances and for the public ſafety. And thoſe princes have been moſt happy, who hearkened to their people; whereas Charles I. loſt his head; and his ſon James, with all his family, was excluded from the crown for adhering to evil counſellors.

It is our duty to acquieſce under the adminiſtration of our eſtabliſhed laws; and to leave the direction of national concerns to the wiſdom of

the ſenate: But when eſtabliſhed laws, on which depend the liberty of the ſubject and the national ſecurity, are obliged to give way to others calculated for eſtabliſhing an unconſtitutional power in a miniſtry, or in any one part of the legiſlature: when the wiſdom of a ſenate is perverted by the intrigues of a court, and become ſubſervient to the direction of a deſpotic miniſter, coolneſs and moderation are not proper means for preſerving the conſtitution: a free people will always have recourſe to their charter of liberties, and repreſent againſt the proceedings of a penſionary parliament; without the leaſt danger of injuring the prerogative of the crown, or obſtructing the execution of right meaſures for the ſafety and glory of the kingdom.

BEHOLD the eyes of all the world are upon us at this juncture; to ſee how a nation, whoſe degeneracy has been viſible for many years paſt, ſhall be able to recover its ancient luſtre. The kings of the eaſt, who dreaded the Britiſh lion, until the inglorious action at Fort St. George: the ſavage Indians in the weſt, who ſought the alliance of Britain, till the defeat of Braddock: the Auſtrian eagle, Spain, and the Turk are impatient to know what muſt be the end of a people, ſhould their councils be under the direction of a cabal, to whoſe ignorance and miſconduct they aſcribe the ſuperiority of the French in the Eaſt Indies; our misfortunes in America; the loſs of Minorca; the unnatural union of Auſtria and France!

WHAT

WHAT muſt they think will be the end of ſuch councils! which cannot truſt to the affections of the people? which require foreign aid to ſupport them from the reſentment of the people: which muſt exiſt upon the depravity and weakneſs of the ſubject. How did our enemies lately tremble at the meaſures purſued by the ſhort miniſtry of Mr. *Pitt?* How do they now rejoice at the reſtoration of one, of whoſe abilities or activity they have no manner of fear?

BUT it is hoped the lion will never couch to the fox. National virtue, however diſcouraged in high life, I hope, is not extinct. A ſhameleſs diſregard of the public ſafety has never been the character of Britons. Their caſe has never been ſo deſperate, but their courage, wiſdom, and loyalty have raiſed them up. Tyranny has often taken long ſtrides to enſlave them; but they always triumphed in their freedom. Anarchy has ſometimes prevailed: but the conſtitution has riſen with greater ſtrength.

HOWEVER, ſhould there come a time, when no-body can be induced by the example of the ancients; nor by the proſpect of their country's ruin, to oppoſe bad meaſures: when every one ſhall only regard his private fortune: when the miniſter of ſtate makes power and ambition the principal object of his actions: when a ſervant of the crown is valued for his dexterity in overawing and fleecing the ſubject: when a parliament is ſo weak or corrupt as to compliment the ſovereign with the property and liberty of the

people: when the recommendation to a poſt of honour or truſt muſt take its riſe from a communication with buffoons, gameſters, and debauchees: when bravery ſhall be puniſhed, and cowardice interpreted no more than an error of judgment; when the art of raiſing money without neceſſity, and by any means, howſoever expenſive to the nation: and when the elector and the elected; the commiſſioners and contractors; thoſe in and out of office, ſhall pay no regard to the public good; but only conſider how they may build up a family, and amaſs great fortunes from the common ſtock, that generation will be always recorded with infamy.

How diſhonourable would it be to leave a coronet purchaſed with the riches acquired under the colours of my country, and be recorded a principal cauſe of the loſs of its glory, and of the key of its trade? how deſpicable would it be to boaſt of the favours accepted for my aſſiſtance in overthrowing the conſtitution? how contemptible, to purchaſe the eſtate of an ancient family, reduced by the neceſſity of the times, had I enriched myſelf by the ſpoils of my country?

But theſe are not the only men pointed at in my motto. Every one, who has it in his power, and does not endeavour to promote the welfare of his country, according to his ſtation, is in ſome degree anſwerable for its misfortunes: and till the ancient Britiſh ſpirit of purſuing the authors of our misfortunes and inquietudes be reſtored; till unity and unanimity conſolidate all our councils;

cils; and till bribery and corruption are driven from our boroughs and ſenate; private intereſt will take place of the common ſafety; and we muſt ſooner or later reſign our liberty to the enemy, or to a deſpotic miniſtry.

O.

No. 94. SATURDAY, *May* 7, 1757.

Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, non dira Celæno.

VIRGIL.

Whence comes, my lord, this general diſcontent?

CREECH'S Hor.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE nation, big with expectations, which they had the greateſt reaſon to ground upon the royal word of their ſovereign, to have juſtice done upon the authors of our diſgrace and loſs in the Mediterranean, are unwilling to believe that there can be any perſon about his majeſty ſo openly unjuſt and ſo daringly impudent, as to attempt the reſcue of the delinquents out of the power of their king and country. The bare rumour of ſuch an intention would fill every place with diſcontent; and, ſhould the report be true that the notorious delay of counteracting

the marine armaments at Toulon, is acquitted of treachery or negligence, they will be apt to conceive forebodings of ſome greater ſorrow and misfortune ready to compleat their miſery.

Is it true that our enemies had fifteen ſail of the line and eight frigates fit for ſervice at Toulon on the tenth of February, 1755? and that the repeated advices from our conſuls and agents on the coaſts of Spain and Italy; from our ſea officers on that ſtation; and from the ſecretary of our ambaſſy at Paris; did continually, from that time, give the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe there was a fixed reſolution to attack Minorca or Gibraltar? was the carrying of naval ſtores to Toulon by two Swediſh men of war a ſecret to the Britiſh miniſtry? did they not know of the contracts made with the Genoeſe for ſhips, ordnance, builders and ſeamen? were not theſe hoſtile preparations in great forwardneſs, and the intelligence of them received long before there was any talk of a deſcent on Britain? yet was there one ſtep taken by the men in power to put Mahon and Gibraltar into a proper ſtate of defence? or to cover them by a ſufficient ſquadron, as had always been the care of the Britiſh admiralty in the time of war? Not a ſhip was ſent into thoſe ſeas for more than twelve months from the firſt advices; nor an officer ordered to his ſtation in thoſe garriſons till the fourth of November; when General Stuart was commanded to repair to Minorca, but could not obtain his paſſage

paſſage to that iſland till the ſixth of April following.

Is it poſſible to acquit Them of miſconduct, who ſo early as Auguſt, 1755, were credibly informed, that the French had one hundred and eighty battalions ready to be tranſported to Minorca, under a ſtrong ſquadron of twelve men of war, beſides frigates, and four men of war from Genoa; and who received a full confirmation of the French king's intention and force deſtined againſt Minorca on the fifth of November, but continued inactive, and, as it were, regardleſs of the ſafety of that moſt important fortreſs, the key of the Mediterranean? no orders were given for a ſquadron to ſail for thoſe coaſts till the eighth of March, 1756; and then for no more than ten ſhips of the line, one hundred recruits, forty-two officers belonging to the four regiments beſieged at Minorca, and a regiment of Fuſileers, to engage with the ſuperior force of an enemy, who was in a capacity of receiving daily ſupplies of ſhips, men, and all neceſſaries. And this very order was attended with ſo many impediments, that it was the ſixth of April before this weak ſquadron could get to ſea. For though there were at that time no leſs than ſeventeen of the line, and thirteen frigates fit for ſea, and eleven of the line and nineteen frigates very near ready to put to ſea, excluſive of the ten ordered for the Mediterranean, Admiral Byng was obliged to wait for ſhips and men then at ſea, and at laſt

to

to ſail with ſome very unfit for that ſervice; and altogether incapable to relieve Fort St. Philip.

Does not the country complain of that conduct? and if the repreſentatives could produce ſufficient vouchers to evidence theſe facts; it could be no wonder if diſcontent ſhould become general, to hear that the authors of thoſe meaſures were diſcharged from juſtice.

What can it avail to plead the fear of an invaſion at home, in alleviation of this charge? for ſhould it appear from authentic vouchers, (which I ſhall ſend you at a convenient ſeaſon) that the firſt intelligence of an invaſion of Britain was not received till the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, 1755, and that the ſame advices diſcredited ſuch a report, and gave ſtrong reaſons to ſhew the incredibility and impracticableneſs of ſuch an undertaking: that there was no armament at Breſt and Rochford at the time Byng ſailed with ten ſhips only, but ſuch as were deſigned for Canada: that there was not one man of war in any of the other ports of France in the channel; nor more ſhips or boats of all nations at Dunkirk, Graveline, Calais, and Bologne, than could poſſibly tranſport more than ſix thouſand men, nor at Havre and Dieppe more than common; nor more ſhipping, nor any preparations for an embarkation, except meaſuring of veſſels in order to know how many men they could carry, at any one time during the alarm of an invaſion; it would be thought that the danger

ger of an invaſion cannot excuſe the long neglect of Minorca, nor of the ſending ſo inſufficient a force at laſt: or ſuppoſe the worſt, that there was a real armament going forward to invade this iſland; could we not have ſpared two regiments from home, and one from Gibraltar? was there no time between the firſt advices of the expedition againſt our Mediterranean fortreſs, to ſend a convoy of two or three men of war to conduct thoſe regiments, the abſent officers, proviſions, and ſtores, before the ſiege took place? which probably would have ſaved the place: for, Lord Blakeney upon Mr. Byng's trial declared, that he could have held it out till the arrival of Admiral Hawke, had he only been reinforced by the hundred recruits and the abſent officers. His not landing thoſe officers and recruits, was a part of that charge which brought the juſtice of the nation on Mr. Byng. And can they, who did not all that was in their power to ſave Minorca, be permitted to eſcape the juſt reſentment of their king and country?

THE managers of the enquiry would do well to conſider, that theſe things cannot be ſecreted from the eye of the public: and that the ſtifling or perverting of evidence would be not only a wicked, but a feeble and ineffectual means, to aſſwage the anger of thoſe, who have loſt their money, their reputation, and are in danger of loſing their commerce and liberty. The people in a free ſtate, when they find themſelves ſometimes

times ſcourged, at other times cajoled, and always cheated, generally have recourſe to their firſt principles and original contract.

INDEED were we ſo unhappy as to be overruled by a houſe of lords, weighed down by a new peerage, raiſed out of the duſt, to ſerve the purpoſes of a miniſtry, though ever ſo bad: or by a bench of biſhops, whoſe attachment to the ways of the world filled their heads with nothing but the means of preferment, or had been advanced ſolely for their eminent want of virtue: or by a number of Scotch peers, of whoſe integrity Mr. Secretary Craggs complained to the houſe of commons, alledging that their elections and penſions had coſt the crown as much as their votes were worth; there might be no room for ſurprize at their profound ſilence, and acquieſcence to the mandates of a miniſter, whoſe fate depended upon the conviction of his aſſociates.

SHOULD it be our misfortune at any time, when the ſovereign engages to puniſh the authors of our miſeries, that the houſe of commons, inſtead of being our own creatures, tender of our rights, frugal of our purſes, and guardians of our property, ſhould be compoſed of members unduely returned by officers corrupted for that purpoſe; forced into a ſeat by the arbitrary proceedings of a committee of elections; or proſtituting their voices for ſome private advantage; then we could expect nothing better than ſubtleties to ſkreen public delinquents, and palliatives

palliatives for the moſt glaring miſconduct.

YET ſuch has been the caſe of Britain, if we refer to the ſubject of the memorial once preſented to Robert Harley, Eſq; ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, in behalf of many thouſands of the good people of England, who in honeſty and truth commanded him, in their names, to demand juſtice, and inſiſted that they had a right to require, and power to compel; if the houſe denied it. 'If you think fit (ſay they to the houſe 'of commons) to rectify your errors, you will 'do well, and poſſibly hear no more of us; but 'if not, aſſure yourſelves the nation will not long 'hide their reſentments: and though there are 'no ſtated proceedings to bring you to your 'duty; yet the great law of reaſon ſays, and all 'nations allow, that whatever power is above 'law, is burthenſome and tyrannical; and may 'be reduced by extrajudicial methods: you are 'not above the people's reſentments: they that 'made you members, may reduce you to the 'ſame rank from whence they choſe you, and 'may give you a taſte of their abuſed kindneſs 'in terms you may not be pleaſed with.'

AT this time the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon the proceedings of our parliament, and the conduct of our miniſtry in the grand enquiry into the loſs of Minorca. And it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that the meaſures taken for the diſcovery of the delinquents will be juſt and upright, and the reſolutions as impartial and explicit, as the verdict of a jury, delivered upon oath

according

according to evidence. Would not the contrary debaſe that wiſdom and uprightneſs by which a Britiſh parliament has been diſtinguiſhed in the moſt important and abſtruſe caſes? would not a partial, or a ſuperficial reſolution in a matter of ſuch a delicate nature expoſe us to our enemies? deprive us of our friends? and diſguſt the beſt of ſubjects? and who could expect a glorious peace or a proſperous war under an adminiſtration, ſuſpected of perverting juſtice, or of influencing the repreſentatives of the people to acquit the authors of their misfortunes? If neglect, injuſtice, oppreſſion and treachery, ſhould ever be indemnified by the reſolutions of that aſſembly, whoſe duty it is to defend our laws and conſtitution, all paſt complaints would be heightened; our miſeries and ſorrows would increaſe; our eſtates would be waſted with taxes; our commerce ruined: our navy deſpiſed: our colonies deſtroyed, and our liberty loſt. The land would groan under the ſad weight of public plunderers, paying themſelves out of the public treaſure, and beſtowing their friendſhip on ſuch as ſhould appear moſt dextrous in ways and means to impoveriſh and enſlave their conſtituents.

How far the ſticklers againſt the preſent enquiry into the loſs of Minorca may ſubject themſelves to any of theſe reflections, is a matter of great concern both to themſelves and to the nation in general. An appearance of their voting contrary to facts would certainly ruin their confidence with their king and country: and all attempts

attempts to deceive, or to reſtrain the cries of the people to the fountain of juſtice, might provoke them to exact an account of their own conduct in a manner leſs ſubject to the influence of a miniſterial cabal.

BUT, Mr. MONITOR! be this as it will; the feeling experience, which every true patriot has in the time of public calamities, ſhould raiſe our reſolution to ſcorn, rather than to fear any injury: a juſt and honeſt man is never diſmayed in the purſuit of juſtice and defence of liberty; and though the world fall upon him he will maintain his integrity.

Z.

No. 95. SATURDAY, *May* 14, 1757.

Nor, Romans! *ſhall the menacing dictates of any man prevent me, under your protection, from defending your rights and privileges.*

CIC. pro *Lege Manil.* by *Guthrie.*

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE orator in this oration complains of the conduct of the Roman miniſtry, in their neglect of proper means to defend their tributaries and colonies, from whence Rome received riches and ſtrength, which communicated dignity

nity to peace and ſucceſs to war; and of employing vicious, effeminate, and unpopular officers, when the fortune of the citizens depended upon the protection of the ſenate and their commanders by ſea and land.

THEY were engaged in a ruinous war with two Aſiatic princes, and embarraſſed by a powerful diverſion from Spain. Tully lays before them the danger to which the ſtate was expoſed by ſuch an impending ſtorm; and, having given it as his opinion, that it is impoſſible, when a great number of individuals are rendered bankrupts in one ſtate, to prevent the calamity from becoming general; he exhorts them to ſave their country from the danger: to direct the whole of their councils and arms to ſupport a war, wherein, with the being of the ſtate, they would aſſert the dignity of their reputation, the ſafety of their friends, the beſt branches of their revenue, and the properties of their fellow-citizens.

IN this diſtreſs, when their veterans, headed by a general, new to the ſcene of action, had been beaten in a war renewed by the ſpirit of reſentful nations; he bewails the want of brave honeſt men, to whoſe hands they might commit intereſts of ſo much conſequence, and a war of ſo great difficulty. And the nation, whoſe character of old had been to direct the thunder of their arms on a diſtant foe, and to guard the intereſt of their allies, as well as their own properties by the floating bulwarks of their empire,

durſt

durſt not paſs over the narrow ſeas for fear of falling into the hands of the enemy; thoſe very harbours, from whence they derived their power in the Mediterranean, became a prey to the conqueror; and a fleet commanded by a Roman conſul was taken and deſtroyed by pirates.

THESE misfortunes the orator charged upon the indiſcretion of thoſe, who preferred men to commands, without conſidering their accompliſhments. It is not enough for a great and conſummate general to be poſſeſſed with the virtues of a ſoldier; he ought alſo to deteſt avarice, and love temperance: his honour ſhould be unſhaken, his deportment eaſy, his genius extenſive, and a certain humanity ſhould adorn all his actions. For, what value, what character is due to the man, who is at the head of an army, wherein the commiſſioners are bought and ſold? or can it be thought that the view of a miniſter can be towards the intereſt of his country, who proſtitutes the public money, appropriated to carry on a war, to corrupt the ſenate, in order to ſecure his own power? theſe were the complaints of the Romans, when they obſerved from year to year that the public money enriched—only a few; and that, by all the parade of naval armaments, they gained naught but an addition of infamy from repeated injuries.

YOUR murmurings, adds Cicero, diſcovers that you know the perſon, whom I point at. For my part, as I mention no names, no man can take offence, without owning himſelf, at the ſame

time, guilty. But where is the man, who is ignorant of the train of misery and ruin, which this avarice of the generals has at all times and in all places brought upon your armies. The general, who is not master of himself, never can be master of his soldiers; nor can the man, who declines a fair trial of his own conduct, ever be the impartial judge of anothers actions.

SUCH was the declining state of Rome, when the people fixed their eyes upon Pompey, as the only person capable of delivering them from the infamy and misery brought upon them by a corrupt and weak government. Manilius, the tribune, delivered the petition of his constituents to the senate, and made a motion for carrying it into execution, and he was supported by the Roman orator, who concludes with this declaration, That he preferred the honour of his country, the safety of the provinces, and the preservation of their allies, to every selfish view and every partial interest; though he was obliged to encounter a great deal of malice, both private and public.

A CIRCUMSTANCE, which has always attended the advocates for their country against the measures of weak and corrupt administrations. Our own happy isle and constitution have not been free from this reflection, of which we have an instance of a very recent date. Our colonies have been exposed to hostilities: our navigation interrupted: our fortresses taken: our armies and fleets disgraced: the publick money misapplied: and many advances made towards a total

overthrow

overthrow of that liberty, which our forefathers enjoyed, to defend themſelves againſt the common enemy, and to demand juſtice, againſt oppreſſive miniſters, to reſiſt all encroachments on their rights and privileges, and to diſplace repreſentatives, who joined in the plunder of their country: in this national diſtreſs the good people of England expreſſed their deep concern in the moſt dutiful terms to their king: and ſo juſtly did they repreſent the danger of their country, that his majeſty was convinced of the neceſſity to put the adminiſtration into the hands of men, whoſe integrity had been proved, whoſe wiſdom could not be impeached, and whoſe zeal for the true intereſt of their king and country had been univerſally acknowledged. Yet,

THIS wiſdom of our ſovereign, to ſatisfy the prayers of his ſubjects, is impeached by a factious writer; who under the popular profeſſion of *whiggiſh principles*, which are to guard the throne from anarchy and the people from tyranny, arraigns the generality of ENGLISHMEN of a ſtrong tendency to republican principles, and of an intention to introduce a popular government. Why? becauſe they could no longer bear to ſee their finances ruined, the enemy every where triumphing, our fleets and armies weakened, defeated, or kept inactive, and a miniſtry, whoſe ſyſtem was to impoveriſh and diſarm the moſt loyal and braveſt of his majeſty's ſubjects.

WILL that writer preſume with the ſubtlety of a Fox to ſtigmatize the lovers of their country

with the odious name of republicans and levellers; becauſe they appear before the throne in behalf of a ſinking nation? it is not a groſs impoſition upon our judgments to inſinuate, that the cries of the nation againſt the meaſures, which have loaded us with a debt of near one hundred millions of pounds ſterling, with moſt heavy taxes, a ruinous war, and a ſtanding army, are ſent forth only from the vagabond mob and dregs of the people? But one that delights in miſrepreſentations; ventures his credit in retailing falſhood, and attempts to reſtore that unconſtitutional and ruinous doctrine of *paſſive obedience*, may be capable of aſſerting the groſſeſt abſurdities, and of defending the worſt of men and meaſures.

An author of any credit would never have produced Carthage, Sparta, Athens, and Rome in vindication of ſuch meaſures, which have brought Britain to the brink of deſtruction; or to interpret the zeal of the nation to maintain the honour and dignity of the crown and to repel the enemy, to be an intention to uſurp the adminiſtration, to change the form of government, and a means to deſtroy the conſtitution. They who have read the hiſtories of thoſe ſtates, will find that Carthage loſt its liberty by a bad miniſtry, that brought in a foreign mercenary army: that Sparta was ruined by a court that introduced gold and luxury into their ſyſtem of adminiſtration, and founded their power upon the corruption of the repreſentatives of the people: that Athens owed its downfal to the oppreſſion

preſſion and tyranny of the Archons: and that the liberty of Rome was not a ſacrifice to the tribunitian power, but to the military government, upon which Cæſar created his arbitrary power.

But he is ſtill more unhappy by attempting to exclude the people, who make up one third part of the Britiſh conſtitution, from all right to conſult for the preſervation of their liberty and property. Is it a reaſon that the ſubjects ſhall not interpoſe with the means preſcribed by their original contract, in the time of univerſal danger; becauſe *the king can do no wrong?* if there can be no criminality in the ſovereign, it is well known and has been ſeverely felt that miniſters can, and have done wrong both to their king and country. Is not the hiſtory of the Stuarts a ſeries of miniſterial oppreſſion? was not both James and Charles, for two generations, as much intitled to the exemption of doing wrong, as the moſt religious and gracious of their ſucceſſors? and yet there are ſtanding examples of many unconſtitutional and ruinous meaſures for deſtroying the liberty of the ſubject: of the wiſdom, reſolution, and right of the PEOPLE to oppoſe thoſe meaſures; and that *paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance* is not a principle adopted by the friends of the revolution; who maintained their right to inſiſt upon an excluſion of the power, which could not be content without breaking in upon the conſtitution; that mal-adminiſtration ſhould be reformed, and that all

things ſhould be ſet upon the foot of honeſty and virtue.

Is not every aſſertion to the contrary a leaning towards an arbitrary power? they that would deprive the ſubject of his rights and privileges, are as manifeſt traitors to their country, as they are guilty of treaſon, who would uſurp upon the prerogative of the crown. Does not the author of the *Teſt* plead againſt the people's right to complain againſt the authors of their diſquietudes and misfortunes? does he not aſſert roundly, that *they are very improper and inadequate judges of their own intereſt?* what more could be ſaid by the greateſt advocate for arbitrary power? if the ſubject is to ſubmit to every meaſure of a miniſtry, let it be ever ſo hurtful to ſociety, and diſgraceful to the ſovereign, there would be an end of the conſtitution: if ambitious and deſigning men muſt be permitted to embroil their maſter's affairs, only to make him more dependant on their arts: if men of arbitrary principles muſt not be anſwerable for their deſigned neglect in the concerns and care of foreign traffic: If deſigning miniſters are found to take advantage of the temper of a prince, and diſguiſe from him the true ſtate of his affairs, and puſh him on to raiſe pretences for raiſing a ſtanding-army; what would become of that glory with which he ought to reign over a free people? and who can ſo properly and effectually interpoſe between miniſterial encroachments and the conſtitutional

intereſt

intereſt of the nation, as the PEOPLE, from whom is derived the very power of governing.

PROSPERITY, a flowing trade and great riches, ſays an old whig, may admit of prodigality, negligence in the ſtate, and falſe ſteps in the miniſtry; but a people, exhauſted by long taxes, deſire to ſee in thoſe above them thrift for the public, vigilance, and as much good conduct as can be expected in human buſineſs. Power is ſeldom invidious to the common people when placed in virtuous hands, nor are calamities intolerable, which could not have been avoided by any care or caution. When the miniſters do well, thoſe under them ſuffer quietly; but on the contrary, if they obſerve themſelves ruled by miniſters, who make a prey of the commonwealth, and to that end only, take upon them the adminiſtration: if they plainly perceive their miſeries and misfortunes to proceed chiefly from the corrupt or weak councils of ſuch ſtateſmen, who want the ſublime part of wiſdom neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs and form of government, that is to ſubſiſt by tricks and arts; or by men, whoſe avarice and ambition no regular eſtabliſhment can ſatisfy, whoſe crimes a free ſtate cannot bear, and who, by ſetting up the regal power above the laws, or corrupting the repreſentatives of the people, build their fortunes, and gratify their high deſires; they have a right to complain of and to exact a juſt and ſevere account of their conduct; though it is poſſible they may not always be ſure of redreſs.

Q.

No. 96. SATURDAY, *May* 21, 1757.

Quid enim eſt tantum; quantum jus civitatis? quid autem tam exiguum, quam eſt munus hoc eorum qui conſuluntur, quanquam eſt populo neceſſarium?

CICERO de Legibus.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THERE is not a more vulgar error among the heavy and uneducated part of mankind, than the lumping of characters together, and giving them in ſuch general terms, as convey no diſtinct and clear idea: thus, when they repreſent a man as clever, without ſpecifying wherein his cleverneſs conſiſts, all I can collect from it, is, that the man is diſtinguiſhed by good natural parts; but ſhould the perſon be bred up in the profeſſion of the law, I would underſtand by it, that he is a good lawyer; if to phyſic, a good phyſician; if to the church, a good divine; if to any art mechanic, that he is ingenious in his way: this is analizing men and things, and ſpeaking a plain and intelligible language. But

ſuppoſe inſtead of this, you ſtretch a man's character to ſubjects, that be out of his province, and infer, becauſe he is eminent in things he has ſtudied, that therefore he is a maſter in things he has not ſtudied, or but rarely and ſuperficially at moſt, you run into deluſion, and inſenſibly imbibe many hurtful opinions.

For example: ſuppoſe a perſon eminent in the profeſſion and practice of the law, ſhould on a ſudden affect the character of the great ſtateſman or politician; would you not have cauſe to doubt the reality of his pretenſions? the law, copious and extenſive as it is, is, in a practical view, a little ſphere compared with that of ſociety and government; and ſhould a perſon's education have been narrow and illiberal, it is impoſſible, he ſhould be a compleat ſtateſman.

Plato, I think, was the firſt, (as he was the firſt of men, I mean the firſt whoſe works have been handed down to our times) who treated the ſubject of law and ſociety in this large and philoſophic view, and all ſubſequent writers owe their lights originally to him. Now, nobody, I believe, will affirm, that the ſtudy of law in this extended and refined ſenſe, is neceſſary to form an *Engliſh lawyer*, though it be certainly neceſſary to conſtitute the ſtateſman and lawgiver; if it were, our army of lawyers would be reduced to a very ſmall number: and I appeal to fact, whether in queſtions purely political, our lawſenators make near the figure (generally ſpeaking)

in

in a certain houſe, as our well educated gentlemen; whoſe minds are not narrowed, nor their thoughts engroſſed by the practice of a profeſſion, that is converſant about private, particular, and for the moſt part ignoble objects; *de ſtillicidiorum, ac parietum jure*; as Tully exemplifies it: and as to that branch of law, which has a wider ſweep, and is called equity; it concerns only the private rights and affairs of men; and is but a ſmall part of the law of citizen-ſhip, or the civil law.

THERE has indeed now and then ſtarted up a lawyer among us (one, perchance, in an age;) whoſe genius and knowledge, have been almoſt univerſal; and theſe appearances, like unexpected comets, aſtoniſh the world. Such were Bacon, Clarendon and a few, very few others I could name: but pray, what ſort of lawyers were they? not ſuch who had been clerks to attornies; but perſons of a large and learned education: perſons who ſpent their firſt years in laying in the ſtores of general ſcience, and afterwards added to it the ſtudy, profeſſion, and ſuperſtructure of law; and theſe I grant, were ſtateſmen, as well as lawyers. Clarendon flouriſhed in an age, when arts and ſciences were maturing apace; Bacon in times, when they began but to juſt peep out their heads, after having lain buried for many centuries in the rubbiſh of the ſchools; and it is amazing to ſee how that great man darted the light of his genius through that dark chaos, and pointed out the paths to all future improvements;

ments; and the fact is notorious to all, who know any thing of the reſurrection and progreſs of letters, that particular geniuſes, who have made a figure in this or that *ſpecific* branch of knowledge, ſince his time, ſtand debtors to him, as their great guide and precurſor.

WERE I then a perſon, who had arrived to the higheſt fame and office in the profeſſion of the law; and that too under the diſadvantages of a very narrow education, compared with Bacon, and put upon a level with him, excepting one particular; but what particular I cannot gueſs, unleſs the particular of univerſal ſcience; would I thank a man for ſo high-ſtrained a compliment, which, I muſt be conſcious to myſelf, could not poſſibly be my due? is it not honour ſufficient, conſidering the extenſiveneſs of our Engliſh laws, the ſhortneſs of life, and the limitations of the human underſtanding, to ſay; ſuch, or ſuch a one ſtands at the head of ſo laborious, intricate and dry a profeſſion? this ſurely is praiſe enough for a wiſe and modeſt man: and there is this inconvenience in all ill-placed panegyric, that by giving a perſon, what is not his due, the world is prone to deny him, what undoubtedly is. This incident however leads me to give a ſhort commentary upon my motto; wherein Cicero aſſerts, that the province of the lawyer is a little limited thing, compared with that of the ſtateſman, or civil philoſopher; and the uſe I would make of it is to correct the vanity of certain lawyers, (if ſuch are to be found among

among us,) who, becauſe they are heard with applauſe in courts forenſial, may be apt to flatter themſelves, that they are therefore qualified to dictate and preſide in the higheſt councils and debates of the nation; no man in my humble opinion is equal to this boundleſs taſk, except to genius be added conſiderable experience, extenſive knowledge, and a conſtant application of the mind to ſubjects political; and this certainly is not, this cannot be the uſual caſe of gentlemen among us, who are brought up to the profeſſion and engaged in the practice of the law.

A STATESMAN then, a civil philoſopher, a miniſter, or by what name ſoever you are pleaſed to diſtinguiſh this honourable perſonage, appears to me to be the firſt of characters; and more ingredients of the nobleſt ſort are requiſite to form it than any other character in the world.

THE firſt ſtep is a large and liberal education; after this it is expedient, if not neceſſary for him, to travel into the politeſt and beſt policed nations, and diligently to obſerve their manners, laws, adminiſtrations and connections; which will open and enlarge his mind, and prepare him to judge the better of the conſtitution, policy and intereſt of his own ſtate; what each is in itſelf; what in a comparative and connected view.— In reading the beſt writers upon government, both ancient and modern; he will find them unanimous in opinion, that the moſt perfect form, which human wit can invent, is that, wherein the three powers; the *regal*, the *ariſtocratic*

ſtocratic and *popular*, are ſo artfully mixed, and made a check, each upon each, that neither can predominate and deſtroy the other, whilſt the government ſubſiſts in a natural ſtate. Such is our Britiſh conſtitution; and ſuch a view naturally inſpires every heart, that is truly Britiſh, with a love of his country; and if he takes care to guard it againſt all corrupt biaſs, he will vigorouſly defend its rights and laws againſt all, who ſhall dare to violate or ſubvert them.

In ſtudying the hiſtories of ſtates and empires, he will carefully attend to the cauſes of their riſe, progreſs, declenſions, and exciſions; that he may ſhun the rocks upon which they foundered, and purſue the ſteps that raiſed them to glory and proſperity; it will be of uſe likewiſe, to peruſe the lives of great men, who acted a principal part in the adminiſtration of their reſpective ſtates; and note what is commendable or deteſtable in their characters, as a rule to imitate or avoid: and thus having availed himſelf of the wiſdom of all antecedent times, he will, if a man of probity and genius, dexterouſly apply it to the uſe and benefit of his own country. Theſe I call neceſſary preparations for the office of a miniſter or ſtateſman; and the principal outlines in his picture; nor do I know of any man who ever deſerved this high title, unleſs diſtinguiſhed by ſuch ſhining accompliſhments.

There is indeed another idea of the word ſtateſman or miniſter, for many years familiar to our minds; and that is, a great man inveſted with

with power, and by corrupt tricks and artifices (the worſt kind of legerdemain) ſupporting himſelf at the head of affairs, without much ſkill in the art of political commerce and navigation; ſuch a one in contradiſtinction to the other may be called the *minute ſtateſman*; juſt as the Sciolliſts in philoſophy were anciently called *minute philoſophers*, to diſtinguiſh them from the noble and ſucceſsful ſearchers after truth.

And now I appeal to any man of ſenſe, whether in the way our lawyers are commonly bred, we can hope to find among them the able and compleat ſtateſman; ſuch a one, if I may ſo ſpeak, is the *primum mobile* of government; whereas lawyers, as ſuch, move in inferior orbits; and although their profeſſion has a connection and cognation with polity; that part of it I mean which is local and concerns the adminiſtration of juſtice; yet they are no more in truth than his ſatellites and ſervants; and like other ſubordinate officers of ſtate, only engines in his hands to turn round and carry on the vaſt wheel of government.

But are the qualifications, which are the reſult of induſtry and a large education, alone ſufficient to conſtitute the finiſhed ſtateſman? I anſwer, No: they will enable him to act creditably in a lower ſphere; but no man is fit to take the lead, unleſs nature has enobled him by what we call genius; and this imports acuteneſs, comprehenſion, judgment and addreſs; he ſhould have the *ingenium ad omnia verſatile*; as Livy affirms

affairs of Cato, to perfect his character; and in no nation perhaps is this talent more requiſite than in ours, whoſe trade, commerce, colonies, exclusive of domeſtic matters, whether as advocate or judge, furniſh out ſo many various ſcenes of policy, as are ſufficient to employ and exhauſt the moſt exalted, improved, and experienced mind. And although it cannot be imagined, that a miniſter has ſtudied theſe ſubjects with the care and preciſion of the merchant or ſtatiſtiſt; yet when the materials are fully and fairly laid before him, he will, as Tully remarks of the orators, think more acutely, and diſcourſe more copiouſly of them, than the man of buſineſs himſelf; and not improbably ſtrike out ſome new lights, that may have eſcaped the narrower and leſs diſcerning eye.

Now ſuppoſe the lawyer to have received the large education I have inſiſted upon; add to that genius, travel, and what other opportunities of improvement you pleaſe, in the earlier parts of life; yet while he continues the practice and profeſſion of the law, how is it poſſible for him to attend upon the boundleſs buſineſs of ſtate, ſo as to take the principal and directing part? the diſputes and litigations in the private concerns of men are ſo various and infinite, as to demand all his time, and engroſs all his thoughts; and ſhould his mind be diſſipated and diſtracted by the intricate and important queſtions of government; above all, in times of public danger and perplexity; he cannot do juſtice to his profeſ-

ſion. The human mind is not equal to ſo many different things at once.

LAYING then all theſe particulars together, I hope my countrymen will conſole themſelves under the imaginary loſs the nation may ſuſtain from the retirement of a certain great man from all our national councils. Does his character anſwer to the deſcription I have given of the conſummate ſtateſman? That no man will affirm: nor can I think, we ſhall at all miſs the politician, however we may the c———r: this is fact, that we never ſuffered ſuch loſſes and diſgraces in the ſame circle of time, as when he was underſtood to have a large hand in planning our public management; and I have no better an opinion of a miniſter, who is generally unſucceſsful, than I have of a phyſician, who loſes almoſt every patient he is called to.

INSTEAD then of condoling with, I congratulate our c———r upon that fortunate æra, which has called him aſide from this world, and given him leiſure to weigh the intereſt of the next.—The happieſt courſe of life a great man can poſſibly propoſe to himſelf, in Cicero's judgment, is this; that having reached the ſummit of fame and honour, to be able ſo to manage matters, as to engage in the higheſt ſcene of buſineſs without danger, and, having laid it down and retired, to live in eaſe and dignity;—(*in negotio ſine periculo, in otio cum dignitate eſſe poſſe*) If by buſineſs we underſtand the diſpenſation of juſtice in the higheſt office of law, our c———r has creditably

creditably paſt that ſtage; the next is now in his power; but ſhall I preſume to dictate to ſo great a man the part it behoves him to act, in order to crown his days with honour? will not the largeneſs and liberality of his heart; will not the immenſe treaſures, he has ſo carefully ſcraped together, ſuggeſt to him the exerciſe of every virtue which humanity and charity call for? will he not give meat to the hungry; cloaths to the naked; encouragement to every public work of mercy? thus his ſun will ſet brighter than it ſhone in its meridian glory; this may ſanctify the vaſt reſidue his children will inherit, and it is ſomething I ſhould think further, that it will augment his hope, as the ſand of his glaſs is running low, and the period drawing nigh, when he muſt appear at that impartial bar, where every man will receive according to his works.

I HOPE the gentlemen of the long robe (for whoſe profeſſion I have the profoundeſt honour and regard) will not take offence, at my contraſting and comparing together the characters of the ſtateſman and lawyer; and repreſenting the latter as the far inferior and more limited character. I am no more than an humble expoſitor, the text and the affront too, if it be one, is Cicero's; however, I cannot but think, ſome deference due to the judgment of a man, who was himſelf the greateſt ſtateſman and philoſopher, as well as orator of the age he lived in; and who had with dignity filled the higheſt poſts of ſtate in the greateſt empire of the world.

I HOPE heaven in compaſſion will ſoon call forth a ſecond Cicero, fix him at the head of our public affairs; and then I ſhall not deſpair of ſeeing the Britiſh nation by degrees recover its antient liberty, gloty, and proſperity.

D. DUNS SCOTUS.

OXFORD,
Logick-Lane.

No. 97. SATURDAY, *May* 28, 1757.

Fama manet facti:——
Et memorem famam, qui bene ſe geſſit, habet.

OVID. Faſt. l. 2.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE diſtinction made by the poet in the motto is a very excellent rule, whereby to diſtinguiſh between men and their actions: or to form a juſt idea of many characters, which are heightened by party or miſrepreſented by envy or malice.

A tyrant, a public robber, a traytor, a coward, and even a fool has done things that are remembered with ſorrow. But, while their names ſtink in the noſtrils of poſterity, the virtuous and juſt, the lover of his country, the guardian

of

of liberty; the brave, the upright and able ſtateſman perpetuates his memory by his labours for the public good. Our deeds will remain; but they only have a right to the name of good and great, who deſerve well of the commonwealth.

THE Romans have recorded the name of a Catiline; but this was to raiſe an abhorrence of his actions; and to repreſent the dangerous ſituation of a ſtate, where the power is in the hands of a man, whoſe aſſociates conſiſt of men, who wallow in all the comforts and ſuperfluities of life, but are ſhameleſs in their ends and intentions: who in the ſtorm of government think to acquire thoſe honours they deſpair of in a calm: who getting more money by robbing and plundering the ſtate, than either they expected or know how to manage, run out their fortunes in riot and exceſs, and while they build like lords, while they indulge upon their eſtates in their chariots, amidſt their great retinue and ſumptuous entertainments, plunge themſelves into debt; whoſe curled locks, blooming complections, effeminate dreſs ſhew that the labours and vigilance of their whole lives are to be found only in their midnight revels. Amongſt whom are ranked gameſters, whoremongers, the lewd and luſtful of every kind. For, unleſs theſe ſoft inſinuating youths, practiſed in the amorous arts of either ſex, be totally excluded from the government; the ſtate, wherever they are found, will be perplexed and endangered by a nurſery of riſing Catilines.

WHOEVER ſeeks for power in order to deſtroy the conſtitution of a free people: or maintains his ſtanding at the helm of ſtate by tyrannical meaſures, will be remembred with deteſtation and ignominy. His wiſdom will be darkened by uſurpation: his courage will be loſt in cruelty: and his juſtice will be deſtroyed by ſelfiſh views. How glorious would Richard III. Cromwell and James II. have appeared in the Britiſh annals! had the firſt not made his way to the crown by dethroning his nephew: had Cromwell not ſtained his valour with treaſon and blood; and had James II. not been prevailed upon by his jeſuitical council to ſuſpend the laws, and to bend them to ſerve the particular intereſt of his Popiſh ſubjects.

THE actions of a Gaveſton, a Dudley, a Strafford, and a Walpole, will never be forgotten: It being much the ſame to adviſe the king to rule by a corrupt parliament, as to govern without any: To miſapply the public money, as to raiſe it without law; and to put it in the power of a committee of e-l—ns to annul the choice of the people, as to deprive the people of their right to chuſe their own repreſentatives.

LOOK into the revolutions of all times and nations, and it will be ſeen that they have been occaſioned by the mal-adminiſtration of the ſtateſmen. The iniquity of their actions remains a caution to poſterity, how they are to be obviated and corrected; and a memorial of the neceſſity to be ever watchful againſt their encroachments.

croachments. The paſſiveneſs of ſubjects under attempts to enſlave them has always ended with the loſs of their liberty. And all meaſures which are calculated to weaken, impoveriſh or divide a nation, ought to be conſidered amongſt the moſt certain means of its deſtruction.

When a free people diſcover in their governors an inclination to influence any part of the conſtitution; or a depravity in thoſe, who ought to protect them in their juſt rights and privileges; it ſhould remind them of thoſe domeſtic broils and foreign wars, which have ſo often expoſed us to the inſults of our enemies abroad, and to the violence of wicked men at home: ſhould the p——t become the tool of the crown, and the mandates of the miniſter their rule of action: ſhould the miniſter neglect the true intereſt and defence of the Britiſh dominions; and load us with taxes to hunt a war on the continent of Europe: ſhould the people be diſarmed, and rejected from the natural right of ſelf defence, except they will conſent to a militia, calculated for the purpoſes of a corrupt and arbitrary miniſtry; there could be no doubt of the ruinous intentions of thoſe, who ſupported ſuch meaſures: and there ſhould be no time loſt in the application of thoſe means, which we are authorized to exert by the laws of God and man.

How debaſed! how contemptible! how near expiring muſt that nation be, where a kind of inſenſibility appeared in the midſt of univerſal deſolation; where her trade and navigation were

neglected: where her riches were exhauſted in the ſupport of a foreign intereſt, whilſt her colonies were expoſed to ruin; and where the machine of government was managed by men, on whoſe integrity there could be no great dependance; and whoſe abilities diſtinguiſhed themſelves chiefly in the invention and eſtabliſhing of meaſures to diſable the people from defending themſelves either againſt their uſurpations, or againſt the common enemy.

HAD the King of Pruſſia laviſhed away the riches of his ſubjects in ſubſidiary penſions to his poor neighbouring princes: had he neglected the internal defence of his dominions, and conſumed his ſtrength and treaſure in the quarrels of other potentates: had he year after year increaſed the load of taxes upon his ſubjects to preſerve the chimerical balance of power between the houſe of Auſtria and Bourbon; and left his diſtant fortreſſes and appendages to his crown expoſed to the arms of his natural enemy: where could he expect to find the ſinews of war? how could he have been able to carry deſolation into his enemy's country? his ſubjects would have been diſpirited, and ready to ſubmit to the firſt invader: and he muſt have patiently yielded to the inglorious conditions of a peace, that would have ſoon put an end to his laudable and glorious ſchemes for encreaſing the wealth of his ſubjects, the power of his crown, and for protecting the Proteſtant intereſt againſt the combined force and enthuſiaſtic bigottry of France and Hungary.

HIS

His actions are ſo many proofs that all his councils center in the welfare and contentment of his ſubjects, and the ardor of his officers and men in the purſuit of victory before Prague, convince, that where a prince rewards merit, and takes care that juſtice ſhall be done upon thoſe, who abuſe his authority, or diſgrace his commiſſion, he will always reign in the hearts of his people, and has nothing to fear from the intrigues and force of his moſt powerful enemies.

SUCH a conduct and its happy conſequences ought to be regarded, not only by thoſe who are immediately benefited under ſo great a prince; but by every prince, who wiſhes to enjoy the like advantages for himſelf and country. Was there ever a prince ſince this was a nation, in the hazardous ſituation of the King of Pruſſia? To be devoted a ſacrifice to the reſentments of Ruſſia, France, Auſtria, and the whole power of the Popiſh intereſt in Germany, was of more ſerious conſideration to the Defender of the Proteſtant faith; and more naturally demanded the aid of Great Britain, than any arguments that can be urged for the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; for maintaining the ballance of power among the princes on the continent; and for the defence of the electoral dominions of the houſe of Brunſwick. And yet, let us look back upon the millions ſpent by Great Britain to preſerve that very ballance, which the court of Vienna by one ſingle dash of a pen has demonſtrated to have been no more than a ſtate engine, for draw-

ing off the riches of this iſland, for upwards of ſixty years; and we ſhall be convinced, that the policy of Great Britain is not to keep a numerous army of foreign troops in pay, nor to tranſport her native ſoldiers to fight the battles of any prince or ſtate in Flanders or Germany: that we act with the greateſt prudence and moſt effectually for the common cauſe, when we make alliances with ſuch only as are able and willing to take up arms in their own defence, and require our aſſiſtance as auxiliaries, and not as principals: and that every meaſure for engaging us any farther, in a continental war, than with ſupplies of money, in time of abſolute neceſſity, cannot tend to the ſervice of a prince, who is in no want of veteran troops; muſt be attended with ſix-fold the expence to the nation; interrupt or totally diſcontinue the neceſſary armaments for the defence of our trade, navigation, and colonies; and encourage the enemy to invade this iſland.

THIS was the policy of the great Elizabeth: ſhe having no poſſeſſions on the continent, never grieved her ſubjects, nor mortgaged their eſtates, nor applied to parliament for a vote of credit, to throw their treaſure and blood away in foreign wars. Her wiſdom appeared on all occaſions, to be upon ſuch terms with her ſubjects, as never to forfeit their confidence; and in ſuch a poſture of defence, as not to be ſurprized by the moſt ſubtle and powerful of her neighbours; and never to give any aſſiſtance, where ſhe was not well aſſured it would both create a diverſion in

her own favour, and be refunded upon good ſecurity. To the Hollanders, Elizabeth lent both men and money: but not till they were reduced to the laſt neceſſity; and then purely to enable them, not ſo much to erect a republic, but by their means to deprive Spain of the advantages of a naval power in the Netherlands; and ſecure England from the ambitious views of King Philip. The ſoundneſs of this policy cannot be more ſtrongly repreſented, than by the preſent load of taxes and national debt entirely contracted by thoſe very meaſures, which firſt drew us as principals, into the quarrels of the Dutch and Germans, from which Great Britain never once reaped the leaſt advantage: and ſo long as the like meaſures are purſued, it muſt be impoſſible for this nation to command reſpect, and cover her own dominions and navigation from encroachments and loſs. While our attention is confined to the preſervation of ſome favourite ſtate in Germany; and our men and money conſumed in ſettling differences amongſt our neighbours; whilſt our ſailors are diſcouraged from ſerving their country, by a miſapplication of that money, granted to pay their monthly wages; whilſt our unnatural connections with the continent make the keeping up of a ſtanding army neceſſary, our credit muſt decay; our trade muſt ſuffer, and our property muſt be injured.

But, Mr. *Monitor!* it is with pleaſure that Britons begin to feel the happy effects of thoſe councils,

councils, which, in this ſevere trial of his Pruſſian majeſty, have enabled him to take the field and to carry victory on the point of his ſword, without neglecting our own affairs. His deſtruction was intended; his ruin might have ſtrengthened the power of France: he aſked our aid: it was neceſſary to aſſiſt him: but the genius of Britain prevailed: our own ſecurity was firſt provided for: he was obliged to exert his utmoſt ſtrength in his own defence, and not till then aſſured of ſuch auxiliary aid, as it was in the power of Great Britain to give, without entering into new quarrels, or diſabling herſelf from purſuing thoſe meaſures which were neceſſary to reduce her profeſſed enemy to an honourable and laſting peace.

Q.

No. 98. SATURDAY, *June* 4, 1757.

Behold, the hire of the labourers, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth.

JAMES v, 4.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE leaſt controverted opinion amongſt politicians is, that the ſtrength and ſecurity of theſe kingdoms, and the ſupport and preſervation of their trade and commerce chiefly depend upon the right appointment of our navy. It ought therefore to be the principal care of the adminiſtration to promote every ſcheme propoſed for the well governing, and the expeditious and effectual manning of his Majeſty's ſhips: and every meaſure for obſtructing of juſtice upon officers found deficient in their duty, or for diſcouraging the ſpirit, bravery, and ſervice of the common men, ſhould be deteſted as the hidden machinations of an enemy to dethrone the king and to betray the nation.

WHAT could be the end of a maritime people, whoſe fleets were under the direction of an admiralty, influenced by lucrative recommendations;

tions; under the command of men, who have neither heart nor head to fight their battles? and obliged to remain unactive for want of ſailors? To have a ſuperiority over all the world, in the number and metal of our ſhips of war; and to be ſupplied with ſufficient appointments to act with vigour on every emergency, would be ineffectual for the ſervice of any country, if they were rendered uſeleſs by a miſapplication of that money, which ought to be religiouſly kept for the payment of the ſeamens wages. To *keep back* any part of their hire, after it is due, is a *fraud* on the public, who readily contribute to the diſcharge of all naval grants; and an *injuſtice* to the poor men, who have ventured their lives or borne the heat and burthen of the day, for the honour and defence of their country; and, perhaps, have families on ſhore periſhing for want of their hire, detained by the fraud of thoſe entruſted with the public treaſure.

WHENEVER this has been the caſe, it has always been found that the fleet was manned with difficulty; and though no nation could boaſt of ſo many, or ſo expert, and brave ſailors, as Britain, they have declined the ſervice; the ſquadrons to be ſent out could not be manned, without ſtripping the ſhips at home, and thoſe lately returned from cruizing.

THIS added to the repeated diſgrace of the Britiſh flag in our preſent circumſtances; when our enemies with a few rotten, leaky ſhips, have driven the Britiſh fleets out of the Mediterranean,

an, and with their privateers ruin our commerce, interrupt our navigation, and dare to bid defiance to the very men of war, that guard our own coaſts; ſhould call upon every lover of his country to aſſiſt in the reformation of ſo great an abuſe, and to point out the moſt probable means of recovering the natural ſtrength and glory of our fleets.

In this view, Mr. Monitor, I again become your correſpondent: and, if it be not unfaſhionable to quote ſcripture for the information of the Great, let them conſider ſeriouſly the doctrine of the motto, for it will teach them, "That the "keeping back of the wages, when due to the "ſeamen, is a fraud in ſomebody, and crieth to "heaven for juſtice againſt their oppreſſors: and "that ſo long as ſuch a fraud or oppreſſion is "continued by the ſervants of the public, thoſe "cries for juſtice will engage the Lord of Hoſts "to eſpouſe their cauſe, to baffle national coun-"cils, to confound our devices, and to make us "flee before our enemies."

Is not this doctrine too manifeſtly confirmed by facts? does not the ſpring of all our misfortunes ariſe from a defect in our naval appointments? There can be neither a want of men, nor of any neceſſaries to equip our fleets, as heretofore: let not then the iniquity of thoſe entruſted with the ſeamen's wages deprive the government of their beſt hands, and provoke the Almighty to fight againſt us.

How

How laudable then is that attempt lately made in parliament to reform this abuſe! "For "eſtabliſhing a regular method for the punctual, "frequent, and certain payment of the wages "and pay due to inferior officers and ſeamen "employed in the royal navy: for enabling ſuch "officers and ſeamen more eaſily and readily "to obtain ſuch payments, and to allot and re-"mit any part thereof for the ſupport and re-"lief of their wives and children; and for the "preventing as far as may be, the unwary, the "ignorant, or the neceſſitous from being defraud-"ed and injured by the extortion and uſury of "wicked and evil deſigning perſons."

A BILL of the utmoſt importance to the public ſervice! and without which, or ſome ſuch regulations, we can expect neither a bleſſing upon our arms from heaven, nor a ſufficient ſupply of able men to fight our battles. And yet, I am told, that this important and compaſſionate propoſal is chiefly oppoſed by the principal commanders in the Britiſh navy. But with what colour of reaſon let all men judge.

Does not the ſailor labour for the defence and glory of his king and country? is not every labourer entitled to his earnings or hire by all laws human and divine? who then has a right to detain the ſeaman's wages? and can there be a more fraudulent detention than to deprive him of the means of remitting a part thereof for the ſupport and relief of his wife and children? and to expoſe him to the fraud and extortion of wicked and deſigning uſurers? theſe are the provocations

of

of divine juſtice: the curſe of God will always blaſt ſuch proceedings: for, *behold*, if there be any truth in his word, *the hire of the labourer, which is of you kept back, crieth.*

WOULD it not be received with great contempt, ſhould the ſteward of a family adviſe his maſter not to pay his ſervants their juſt wages, when their wives and children were ſtarving, and to drive them to the wretched alternative of taking up money or goods upon uſury? who could forbear ſuſpecting that ſuch a ſteward was deeply concerned with the extortioner? would not the ſervants find relief by the laws, which ſecure every man's property in a free ſtate? what then might be thought of a board of admiralty, who ſhould intereſt themſelves principally againſt a bill calculated for the important, compaſſionate and juſt purpoſes above-mentioned? and of an admiral, who being perſonally acquainted with the daily diſtreſs and complaints of the common men, on account of the frauds made uſe of to keep back their wages; ſhould attempt to miſguide the legiſlature in their wiſe reſolutions to give them relief, and thereby to remove the great obſtruction in manning our navy, and to appeaſe the juſtice of heaven; which is ſo juſtly provoked againſt this nation for keeping back the hire of thoſe, who labour for us by ſea? ſuch an admiralty could never find men to ſerve their king and country: and ſuch an admiral would draw upon himſelf imputations of cowardice, cruelty, and extortion; of an averſion to fighting;

a tyrannical behaviour; and of a colluſive underſtanding with purſers, agents, and ſuch like vermine, which fatten in proportion to the miſeries, which their frauds bring upon the inferior officers and ſeamen under his command.

NOTHING, but a reſolution to deprive the nation of its naval ſtrength, or the fear of loſing ſome private advantage, could induce an admiral to ſpeak againſt ſuch a bill, which only allows a ſeaman turned over to another ſhip all the wages due to him in that ſhip, before he ſhall be obliged to proceed again to ſea; and enables him to be paid his full wages within two months after his arrival in port, having been twelve months in ſea pay. It would ill become an admiral to inſinuate againſt this equitable law, that to pay men their wages would be a certain means of their deſertion from their ſhips: for, it is well known, that the grand diſlike, after their complaint againſt the tyrannical conduct of ſome commanders, is their ſhort pay eat up by uſury, and detained without any manner of regard to their neceſſities. It was never ſeen that a ſhip's company deſerted the captain, who treated them like men; and diſdained to connive at any practices, which might wring from them the fruits of their labour.

IT would be no difficult matter to relate the hardſhips, which not only ſeamen and inferior officers, but even captains labour under from the ſelfiſh ſchemes of ſome late commanders in chief. Is it not a hard caſe for thoſe, who venture their lives in their country's ſervice, not only to be

be denied their pay when due: but be obliged to commit their intereſt in a prize, to an agent of the admiral's chuſing, though ever ſo diſagreeable; and be threatened with a diſcharge ſhould they deſire to employ a perſon to whom by gratitude and juſtice they are bound to entruſt all their pecuniary affairs? and ſhould it be diſcovered that the ſame intereſt, which obtained the act for putting ſo much power in the admirals, concerning agency, would oppoſe the bill now depending in parliament for the eſtabliſhing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payments of ſeamens wages, &c. there would be great reaſon to ſuſpect that it is not a fear of their deſertion, but a dread of loſing an opportunity of enriching themſelves by ſeamens tickets, &c. bought at a great diſcount, under the preſent management, which ſtirred up this oppoſition.

I would, by the way, aſk thoſe gentlemen, who pretend, that the paying of ſeamen their wages would be a certain means to unman the navy; what reaſon they can aſſign againſt paying their juſt demands to men diſcharged unſerviceable, and to the repreſentatives of men dead or killed in the ſervice? there can be no fear of ſuch running away. What then? ſuch prompt payment would entirely deſtroy that traffic, which is carried on by ſomebody to the ruin of the diſabled ſervant, or the diſtreſſed family of the deceaſed.

However this may be, it is certain that the ſailors have both reaſon and law on their ſide? and the nation, who ſo chearfully and plentifully contribute, in time, to pay the navy, have a right to enquire why their money is not paid according to appointment.

It has been pretended, that if the bill now depending ſhould paſs into a law, it would be impoſſible to find ſeamen to mann the navy. Let them be aſked, who argue ſo contrary to reaſon, what was the cuſtom before the revolution? In thoſe wars with the Dutch, when the ſtrength of the Britiſh navy underwent the moſt fiery trials, we had no admirals that were afraid to meet the enemy; no cowards promoted to a flag; nor any attempt to keep back the hire of the ſailors; no want of ſeamen for the national ſervice. For why? becauſe it was then the cuſtom to pay off the great ſhips every year, the ſmall ones at the end of every voyage, to leave no recalls, ſeldom to turn men over, never to lend them to other ſhips, except to merchantmen in diſtreſs, and to pay tickets as ſoon as they were made out.

This bill therefore endeavours only to reſtore the ancient cuſtom and credit of the navy, which was to pay the ſeaman his wages when due, that his family might not be waſted with indigence and miſery. And as to the objection, that many would deſert the ſervice were it not for forfeiting their wages; I muſt grant this to be very probable under the preſent hardſhips of the navy: but I can alſo with aſſurance ſay; 'Take away

'the cauſe and the effect will ceaſe.' For in caſe the ſeamen find themſelves kindly treated, duly encouraged, well and regularly paid, and be ſometimes permitted to viſit their relations and families, inſtead of being confined on board a guard-ſhip, when their ſhip is ordered to be docked, his Majeſty's ſervice will no longer be accounted a ſlaviſh confinement, but an agreeable and profitable calling; to which the ſeamen will, as naturally as the honeſt laborious artificer a-ſhore, apply themſelves chearfully for the ſupport of their families; moſt of whom, by reaſon of the preſent method of keeping back their hire, are now obliged to ſeek relief in the charity of ſtrangers, and provoked to cry to heaven for vengeance upon the authors of their diſtreſs.

THIS is the real cauſe of the difficulty attending the manning of our fleets. The cruel method of impreſſing and of confining men on board was never thought neceſſary till the managers and commanders of the navy, by their injuſtice and tyranny, diſguſted the common men, and deterred them from entering into the ſervice voluntarily: which, as it has been in times before, unleſs it be remedied by an effectual act of parliament, is like to continue a hardſhip to the ſeamen, and a burthen to the nation, and the only occaſion of putting the government to that inconvenient, dilatory, troubleſome, dangerous, and moſt chargeable method of impreſſing; and above all to make this ſinking nation more obnoxious to the juſtice of the Lord of Hoſts; who

from the time that the cries of theſe diſtreſſed labourers for their hire, have entered into his ears, has never gone forth with our fleets, nor fought our battles in the diſtinguiſhing manner as in former times.

Z.

No. 99. SATURDAY, *June* 11, 1757.

Thus when one *thruſts himſelf upon the ſtate,*
And cries, Come, I'll ſuſtain the nation's weight:
Let empire and religion be my care:
I'll manage all.—*This makes the people ſtare.*
This makes them aſk—What is he? Whence came he?
What was his mother? *of what* family?
Or is he baſe—*his* ſire *of mean degree?*
CREECH's HOR. Sat. VI. ver. 46.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE variety of reports, which find their way into the country, concerning the preſent circumſtances of the nation, the meaſures purſued for its honour and ſecurity, and of the changes in high places, is productive of many reflections, to the diſadvantage of thoſe, who thruſt themſelves upon the ſtate.

We

We are perpetually grieved with repeated advices of the diſtreſſed condition of our plantations, and the increaſe of the French power in Canada and along the Miſſippi, which form a chain to fetter our commerce in North America; and it may be, to enſlave our colonies. Our terrors are heightened by the naval ſtrength of our enemies in the Weſt-Indies: our trade dares not ſtir out of port: the Britiſh flag is obliged to ſtrike to the fleur de lis: and Barbadoes, or Jamaica, ſeems to be the immediate prey of the French invader. We bewail the loſs of Minorca; and are in pain for Gibraltar. Our trade is ſtagnated in the Mediterranean, and our navigation is inſulted not only in the ocean, but upon our own coaſts.

THUS our intereſt with foreign ſtates declines, with the honour and dignity of our flag, and our merchants are deprived of thoſe means, by which the nation is enriched; while the labourer, the manufacturer, and the artiſt periſh for want of employment and bread in a land, which was till lately, the granary of Europe, and the ſtorehouſe of merchandize for all the world. And to crown our misfortunes by provoking heaven againſt us, England, which was once a land of ſaints, is degenerated into infidelity and immorality.

IN this miſerable proſpect of our declining country it is natural to aſk, what is done? to ſave us from the miſeries, which threaten us from without; to repel the power of France, and to ſecure our colonies, iſland, trade, and navigation; to recover Minorca and put Gibraltar into

a ſtate of defence; and with in, to provide for the ſafety of this iſland, againſt the attempts of a foreign foe, for the ſupport of the indigent, and for the reformation of the idle, irreligious and vicious.

We hear indeed, that there is a man, too much like a Fox, an animal of ſome abilities, but always ſuſpected of cheating and pilfering, who boaſts that he will *ſuſtain the nation's weight. Let*, ſays he, *empire and religion be my care, I will manage all.*

This makes the people ſtare: but when they hear that this man is ignorant of, or an enemy to, the Britiſh conſtitution; and an infidel in practice; no tongue can expreſs their diſcontent.

What! ſhall the man who in a great meaſure contributed to our preſent ruinous condition, be permitted to thruſt himſelf again upon the ſtate? is he capable of governing and protecting the Britiſh empire, who at home oppoſed the natural defence of this nation by a militia, and adviſed the introduction of a foreign mercenary army? can there be any expectations in the councils of one, who neglected our empire in America, and paid no regard to the armaments fitting out at Toulon againſt Minorca? or, is it poſſible to preſerve our liberty and religion under the adminiſtration of one, that has given ſuch evident demonſtration of his intention to govern by a ſtanding army, to exhauſt the riches of the nation by new and heavy taxes, to corrupt the principles of the populace, and to encourage

vice

vice and immorality in every ſtation.

SHOULD that man thruſt himſelf again upon the ſtate, what muſt become of our empire and religion! not content with the largeſt ſupplies demanded by the crown, he will be always increaſing our debt, and laying the foundation for new taxes, by adviſing the ſovereign to aſk for a vote of credit: deaf to the cries of our planters, merchants, ſailors, and manufacturers, he will engage in a war on the continent of Europe, and apply our treaſure to ſupport the intereſt of ſome German prince, at the total riſque of Britiſh liberty and property. And abandoned to every meaſure, which may contribute to introduce arbitrary power, he will not ſcruple to ſeek for means to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of venality amongſt the people; to corrupt their repreſentatives; to debaſe the peerage; to fill the church with time-ſerving, vicious or ignorant paſtors, and to deceive his royal maſter.

WHAT can be expected of one, whoſe ſubtlety is ſo well practiſed in the ſtudy of other mens foibles? is not this the man, who can game, drink, whore, prophane, and even deny his maker, in order to debauch, or to make himſelf and his ſcheme acceptable to the young, unexperienced and unwary? and can a pimp, a gameſter, a libertine, be fit to manage the weighty concerns of a nation under our preſent misfortunes? his care muſt be to raiſe money for the diſcharge of iniquitous meaſures, to keep up an intereſt at

court, to carry a majority in the houſe, and to over-awe the injured ſubjects.

WHENEVER the cries of our brethren in America call upon him for ſuccoar, and a religious application of the grants made for that ſervice by parliament; he is entirely taken up with the preſervation of Germany. When our merchants pray for ſufficient convoy and protection; he pretends to be engaged in meaſures to guard againſt an invaſion; or that there cannot be found men ſufficient to man the ſhips in commiſſion.

WOULD it not be convenient to aſk him that manages in this manner, whether any part, or all Germany, is of that conſequence to us, as to give it the preference in the care of a Britiſh miniſtry? muſt a German intereſt deſtroy the reſolution of a Britiſh parliament in favour of our own property in any part of the world; could Britain be in danger of an invaſion from France, were we permitted to defend ourſelves, and trained up regularly to the uſe of arms, as in the days of our forefathers? can a large fleet at anchor in Portſmouth, or Plymouth harbour, or in the Thames, or Medway, be any ſecurity againſt an embarkation from the coaſt of France under a ſtrong ſoutherly wind? yet this was the caſe. Our men of war were locked up in port; when the miniſtry reported the French intended invaſion; and was not the money, which ſhould have been applied to the manning and fitting out our navy, confounded in a moſt notorious manner, in penſions, ſubſidies, and maintaining of a foreign

army within our own bowels, eating the bread, for which our ſtarving manufacturers, *&c.* were obliged to work?

THIS *makes them aſk—What is he? Whence came he?* can he be an Engliſhman, who drew his firſt breath in a land of liberty, and trained up in a love for his country, that proſtitutes all that is human; all that is becoming a man, a freeman and a Proteſtant, in deviſing means to overthrow its conſtitution and to root out religion? was he born in Suſſex? is his kennel near Holland-houſe? how degenerate muſt he be from the ancient inhabitants of thoſe demeſnes, who never joined in the oppreſſion of their fellow ſubjects, nor ſpared their blood in their country's cauſe.

BUT perhaps, he may be the offspring of a ſervile conjunction between a *footman* and a *chambermaid*. If ſo, what can be expected from ſuch a race? a mother, that nurſed him with the doctrine of low deceit, tricks and intrigues: a father that was dextrous in bowing, cringing, and pimping, all his youth; and in age, taught his ſon, by example, to diſbelieve and ridicule the myſteries and precepts of Chriſtianity.

Is it not paſt comprehenſion, that ſuch a genius could ever recommend himſelf to a place among the great? what muſt be the end of a nation, whoſe empire and religion ſhould be entruſted to ſuch hands? what is not ſuch a miniſter capable of doing? where neither honour nor religion has ſeaſoned his firſt principles; and his life has been a ſcene

a ſcene of flattery and vice; what can the public expect from ſuch an adminiſtration but diſgrace, corruption, irreligion, contempt and ruin? is he a proper perſon to entruſt with the application of the national treaſure? he will never heſitate a moment to ſerve himſelf at the expence of the common ſtock. If his exaltation depends upon the favour of his prince, he is ſtill ſo much the radical ſervant, which ſtreamed in his parents veins, as to flatter and compliment his maſter with the truſt repoſed in him by his country: and where German and Britiſh intereſt come into competition, he will promote the former; though he is certain that ſuch a meaſure is contrary to the act of ſettlement, and muſt tend to the deſtruction of Britain.

Our terrors, therefore, are greatly increaſed during this interval in the miniſtry. How ſmooth; how agreeable did every thing paſs with the public during the ſhort adminiſtration of Mr. PITT, &c. how has every face mourned at their diſplacing! and therewith, at the loſs of their expectations to ſee the authors of our misfortunes puniſhed; and to hear of ſome vigorous meaſures for recovering our rights, and humbling our enemies.

WHAT will it avail, ſhould we contribute ever ſo chearfully towards carrying on the war, and protecting our navigation and colonies; if a miniſter ſhould have it in his power to apply the national ſupplies to a foreign aid? if a ſervant of the crown can find protection from an enquiry:

or

or purchaſe ſecurity in a majority of the peoples repreſentatives.

It is acknowledged that his majeſty has an undoubted right to execute his truſt by what ſervants he pleaſes. But no one will preſume to ſay, that his majeſty is infallible. And if the king in his wiſdom has been deceived, his juſtice will direct him to deliver a bad ſervant to the reſentment of his ſubjects: who, notwithſtanding they have conſented to the royal power of nominating his miniſters, never gave up their right to call the ſervants of the crown to an account, when their councils have tended to miſlead the ſovereign, or to encroach upon the liberty, or to miſapply the treaſure of the people.

The commons of this land are always ready to ſupport the crown and the national intereſt. And their confidence in the juſtice and wiſdom of our king, has ſometimes led them to entruſt him with a million, to be diſcretionally borrowed by him during their retreat, in caſe of need, or if the ſupplies of that ſeſſions ſhould fall ſhort of the exigences of the ſtate. But ſhould any one thruſt himſelf upon the ſtate, who dared to look upon ſuch a vote of credit to be entirely at his diſpoſal, without any regard to the ſecurity of Great Britain and its dominions: and would expend it in Germany, while our enemies ride victorious on the main, and penetrate into the richeſt of our colonies without controul; the ſame power which ſo generouſly gave the crown ſo much credit, would as certainly ſatisfy the cries of their conſtituents,

ſtituents, by inflicting a juſt puniſhment upon unjuſt ſervants or ſuch as are unequal to the nation's weight.

THUS we hope that our wiſe and gracious ſovereign will never fill any place of honour or truſt with a ſervant, whoſe general character is diſagreeable to his people; whoſe practices have rendered him odious to the men of the greateſt intereſt, property, and honour in the nation, and who has nothing to recommend him but a ſervile complaiſance to the foibles of a court.

A

I am, Mr. MONITOR,

Your conſtant Reader,

An Old Britiſh FOXHUNTER.

No. 100. SATURDAY, *June* 18, 1757.

If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not conſumed one of another.

St. PAUL to the GAL. v. 15,

To the MONITOR,

SIR,

THIS admonition, how much ſo ever antiquated and derided by the advocates for libertiſm and infidelity, was the reſult of the apoſtle's

poſtle's deep penetration into the cauſe of thoſe misfortunes by which the body politic is brought to ruin and conſumed.

The ſubſtance of his advice in this ſhort ſentence, is neither as men, Chriſtians, or politicians, to do, adviſe, or to concur in any meaſure or act, by which the property, religion, and liberty of the ſociety, to which we belong, ſhall be invaded, diſhonoured and oppreſſed: becauſe, when the riches of a nation are exhauſted for other purpoſes than its own ſafety and glory; when the Chriſtian ſacrifice is made a teſt or qualification for the moſt immoral and profane to hold places of profit and truſt; and when they, who bear rule, attempt to govern by any other means, than the conſtitution or the original contract of their delegated power ſhall authorize; there, ſooner or latter, muſt be an end of that ſociety, people or nation.

For where the ſinews of war are wanting they will be unable to guard againſt their natural enemy, encroaching upon or invading their own borders. Where immorality and prophaneneſs have taken place of religion and virtue; heaven will never go forth with their fleets and armies: and where a free people are diſguſted with their governors, for miſapplying or cajoling them out of their money, or oppreſſing them with taxes, they are not able to bear; or terrifyed by penal laws and the over-ruling paſſion of augmenting a ſtanding army; there is the greateſt reaſon to

fear,

fear, that they will be conſumed one of another.

THE circumſtances which lead to this reflection were the unnatural connections of the kings of Juda with foreign ſtates, and their oppreſſive exactions, which impoveriſhed their own ſubjects to feed the hungry courtiers of the empire: the ſacred miniſtry uſurped by profeſt deiſts: and the repeated ordinances, which were calculated to diſarm and enſlave a people, who boaſted themſelves to be free, and never to have been in bondage to any power; and which having firſt thrown them into confuſion amongſt themſelves, expoſed them to the policy and power of their enemies, and entirely conſumed them.

WAS there never a nation like this? whoſe money was conſumed in foreign alliances; whoſe ſecurity was neglected; whoſe rulers in church and ſtate were ripe for deſtruction; and whoſe liberty was endangered by the encroachments of the crown, and intrigues of a miniſtry.

THIS has been the common caſe in every ſtate where men were raiſed from mean eſtates, by the favour of their ſovereign, to have the *only* rule in the commonwealth. For, ſuch miniſters of ſtate being enticed, by the allurements of vice and private gain, their whole ſtudy is to bite and devour thoſe, who have a right to protection and aſſiſtance. They never regard the natural intereſt of the realm; but only contrive how they ſhall mancipate their royal maſter; diſable the ſubject from oppoſing their uſurpations and tyranny; raiſe money, and ſecure a faction in the ſenate, to authorize

thorize their injuſtice, bribery and extortion: which has always created diſcontent between the king and his ſubjects, exhauſted the treaſure, which ought to have been applied to the ſervice of the nation: provoked the commons to murmur at the increaſe of their taxes, and the peers to reſent ſeeing themſelves diſgraced, the worſt of men exalted, and the whole kingdom expoſed to ruin and deſtruction.

WHAT can be otherwiſe expected where power is gotten by fraud, corruption or force? For, as it is a confeſſed rule in policy as well as philoſophy, 'That every thing is kept and maintained by the ſame ways and means as it was obtained;' a man that thruſts himſelf into a government by flattery, or miſrepreſentation; by eſpouſing a foreign intereſt, and declaring himſelf an advocate for a ſtanding army, for the importation of foreign troops, the exportation of treaſure neceſſary for the real ſervice and ſecurity of his country, and an enemy to every meaſure, which might ſtrengthen the hands of government in its immediate defence, and force the enemy to accept of an equitable and honourable peace; can never be expected to inform the ſovereign of the true ſtate of his affairs, nor to give ear to the addreſſes of an injured people.

AMBITIOUS men flank and fortify one crime with another. Sylla had no ſooner proclaimed or voted himſelf dictator; but, to make good this uſurpation with a maſk of authority, he engaged the ſenate to approve of all his illegal acts; to

to confer on him a power to take away the lives and eſtates of whom he pleaſed; to build and to deſtroy cities, to diſpoſe of kingdoms, and to exerciſe an arbitrary authority; by which he weeded out of the ſenate houſe all ſuch as had preſerved ſo much virtue and love for the ancient government, laws and liberties of Rome, as to oppoſe his innovations in the ſtate and his arbitrary proceedings.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR having by the terror of a powerful army placed himſelf in the ſeat of government, but diffident of his own capacity alone to ſubjugate his country, took Antony and Lepidus for his aſſociates in his deteſtable confederacy, to ſubvert the fundamental conſtitution of his country. They began with giving eſtates and offices to their creatures; the ſenate was permitted to meet only to confirm their meaſures for enſlaving the people; they appointed the magiſtrates and officers, and by theſe means found it no hard matter to proſcribe or cut off the beſt men for underſtanding, conduct, reſolution and affection for their laws and liberties. Thus the Romans did bite and devour one another till their conſtitution was conſumed.

IN England we have read of the like attempts to bite and devour the people. No king was more beloved for his juſt adminiſtration than Henry III. till the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had gained an aſcendant over him, prevailed with his majeſty to diſmiſs the great and good obſtacles of his wicked and ruinous ſchemes, and

and to entruſt the government in the hands of ſuch miniſters, whoſe meaſures were calculated to wrong their royal maſter in the hearts of his people, that he might be compelled to ſeek council only from themſelves. But this was no ſooner effected, than his new miniſter put the king out of humour with his new ſubjects, called in an army of foreigners, and rewarded their auxiliaries with the poſts of truſt and profit, from which the natives were diſplaced: who, leaſt the king ſhould hear the groans of his people, and be informed of the corruption and wickedneſs of his miniſters, debarred him of the acceſs of thoſe good and able men, who were able to detect their iniquitous proceedings.

THUS a king is deprived both of his government and reaſon, when he ſubmits to become a prey to a miniſter, who deprives him of the natural intercourſe, which is neceſſary to maintain good harmony, with his ſubjects, and makes uſe of his authority, power, and intereſt to fleece and oppreſs the people.

SEEING theſe things are ſo; what would become of Britain in the preſent poſture of affairs, could it be ſuppoſed that the intereſt, money, and liberty of this nation were in danger of being committed to the care, management, and protection of one, who has in a former ad——n done ſuch things as cautioned all the men of wiſdom and property not to be connected in his meaſures: to whoſe miniſtry is aſcribed the preſent hazardous ſituation of the Britiſh Empire in

America; the loſs of Minorca, the ruinous condition of our navigation; the contempt of the Britiſh flag at Malta, Genoa and Leghorn, and the conſumption of eight millions ſterling in the pay of ſubſidiary armies on the continent to cover H——r; in the importation of Heſſians and Hanoverians, and in martial parade and military buffoonry in England; while the neceſſary ſupplies for the defence of Minorca and Gibraltar were neglected: and who outdid his moſt dextrous predeceſſors in the art of intrigue and arbitrary principles.

THE intereſt of this nation would be poſtponed to the broils or neceſſities of German princes: our money waſted in their ſupport both in peace and war, and our liberty abridged by encroachments on the great charter of the nation.

THOUGH the application of money granted by parliament under the preſſing exigences of our own dominions, to any other military operations than thoſe, which are neceſſary for our own defence, is making or engaging in a war on the continent, contrary to the act of ſettlement; a man of ſuch deſperate principles and fortune, would not heſitate to adviſe his ſovereign to remit the ſame for the uſes of ſome German ſtate; while our fleets and armies were not able, for want of money, to act againſt the common enemy; provided he could thereby eſtabliſh his own power and maintain the favour of his prince.

THE appointments of the navy, which is the bulwark

bulwark of theſe kingdoms, would be perverted for the maintenance of an army of obſervation on the Weſer or the Rhine; and our ſhips, which ought to be cruiſing for the protection of our trade, and the annoyance and terror of our enemies, would be locked up in the harbours for want of men, who abſcond the public ſervice; ſome on account of ill uſage from their officers, but chiefly for the keeping back of their wages, when due.

NOT content with the chearful and expeditious grant of all the ſupplies demanded by the crown for the internal defence of the nation, and to face our enemies abroad; never ſatisfied with *all* a nation can raiſe, for its ſafety and the glory of the crown; or reſolved to reduce his countrymen to a ſtate of poverty, he would firſt act the part of Sylla, by attempting to engage the ſenate to confer on him a power to raiſe a ſpecial million of money, on the credit of the nation, without ſpecifying the ſervice it was intended for; and then endeavour to ſkreen his application thereof to foreign aid under the royal command.

I SHOULD not be ſurpriſed to hear, that ſuch an adventurer in politics was detected of contriving means to take away the lives and eſtates of whom he pleaſed; or that a nation, which ſhall reſt content under ſuch meaſures, which are ready to devour them, ſhould be conſumed. The man, who can find ſecurity for embezzeling a million of the public money, may as well be ſuſpected

of an intention to exerciſe an arbitrary authority: and the people, who can ſubmit to a debt, for which the preſent and future generations muſt be mortgaged, without receiving any benefit, muſt dwindle away into nothing.

AND ſuch meaſures, as they tend to alienate the minds of good ſubjects, ought to be treated, as ſchemes deſigned to bring about a ſubverſion of the fundamental conſtitution of this country: For, by the very act, which ſettles the crown upon, and commands our allegiance to the preſent family, it is enacted, *That this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories, which do not belong to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament:* and by the fourth clauſe it is to be underſtood, that any officer or miniſter that adviſeth the king to act contrary to this or any other law of the realm, ought to be puniſhed; otherwiſe it might be eaſy for an artful reſolute miniſter to conſume us.

LET us therefore watch for the public good, let the great council of the nation guard againſt the intrigues of a deſpotic miniſter, and adviſe their ſovereign to be cautious to whom he commits the management of the ſtate. Let the guardians of our liberty and property not increaſe the penal laws, nor taxes, nor arm a miniſter, though ever ſo popular, with forces and money, whoſe ſervice he refuſes to explain, or induſtriouſly conceals. Let officers and magiſtrates in their ſeveral capacities adhere ſtrictly to the conſtitution and intereſt of their country in the execution

ecution of their reſpective duties. And let every one in his ſtation and condition of life reject the allurements of places and penſions to act contrary to the common good, and unite in one heart and one mind in the cauſe of liberty, and to guard the throne from evil counſellors: for if we divide into factions, and ſuffer ourſelves to be prevailed upon to bite and devour one another, the wicked miniſter who can engage us in that warfare, will at laſt obtain the end of his intention, to make us conſume one another.

P.

No. 101. SATURDAY, *June* 25, 1757

Regibus boni, quam mali, ſuſpectiores ſunt.

SALL.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT is ſome advantage for a writer to be ſupported by authorities of general eſtimation: and the aſſertion in the motto might probably be miſapplied, had it been the obſervation of a modern pen, or delivered by a perſon of leſs knowledge in the ſchool of nature, and in the intrigues of a court.

SALLUST wrote what he was truly ſenſible of. He could experimentally relate the diſtreſſes of a nation whoſe king was more prone to liſten, and give credit to evil counſellors, than to the advice of good men; and was led to this reflection by the weakneſs of ſome prince, who rather choſe to have no miniſtry, than ſuch a one, which reſolved to adhere ſtrictly to the intereſt of their country and the dignity of the crown: who ſuſpected the council of thoſe, who had courage and virtue enough to oppoſe arbitrary and ruinous meaſures, and riſqued the happineſs of his people, and the ſtability of his throne in ſupport of men, who made their addreſs to his majeſty by ſoothing his paſſions, perverting his authority, miſrepreſenting his friends and the moſt loyal actions of his beſt ſubjects, perſuading him to extend his prerogative above the limits of the national conſtitution, and to maintain his uſurpation upon their liberty by penal laws and exceſſive taxes.

A CHARACTER little deſerving the name of *Pater Patriæ*, ſo much aſſumed by crowned heads. Yet it is next to a miracle for princes to diveſt themſelves of that ſhineſs, which is commonly ſhewn, at court, towards the friends of liberty, or to guard againſt the toils ſpread by ſycophants and traytors of their country, to engage them in an intereſt ſeparate from that of their people; which, inſtead of nurſing and cheriſhing, puts them upon ways and means to ſtarve

ſtarve and devour the members of the body politic.

FROM the moment a prince appears upon the ſtage of life, he is ſurrounded by a ſet of men, whoſe thoughts are wholly ſet upon deceiving him, and who are ſolely attached to their own private intereſt. Theſe are the men, whoſe very exiſtence depends upon flattery and deceit; and who ſcruple not to overturn the conſtitution, ſhould it ſtand in the way of their advancement.

WHEN it has happened that a prince had wiſdom and reſolution enough to diſcover, who deſerves his confidence, and who do not; and to refuſe his ear to every one, who is unworthy of it; he has always found a ſufficient ſupply of all he has wanted for the ſupport of his crown and dignity, and for the peace, ſecurity and intereſt of his ſubjects: but wherever it has been ſeen that a prince prefers thoſe, who think of nothing but accommodating themſelves and their meaſures to his humour; though he may have in himſelf all the beſt diſpoſitions for government; he by this one falſe ſtep annihilates all his good qualities, and blunders and wanders with his bad guides, till he loſes the affections of his people, and becomes the ridicule of foreign ſtates.

THE greater princes are, and the more they have in their power to give; the more they are expoſed to all that the moſt ingenious artful ambition, or covetouſneſs can invent to ſeduce them. And when once they begin to be ſoothed

by flattery, they grow reſerved and ſuſpicious of thoſe, who retain their integrity and fidelity, and refuſe to imitate their adulation. They interpret their uprightneſs and ſteady conduct to be a ſecret diſſatisfaction, a kind of malignity and envy, or a deſire to diminiſh their glory. They ſpeak to them with leſs affability, and conſult them ſeldom, or not at all.

THUS, a prince having given himſelf up to thoſe, who feed him with the baſeſt flattery and deceitfulneſs, and driven from him ſuch, who excel in virtue, and are inſpired with a noble emulation to do real ſervice; there can be no wonder, if his court ſhould be immediately overrun with perſons, who ſtudy nothing but to deceive him: and while he vainly thinks himſelf beloved and admired by every one, he is ſurrounded by ſecret enemies, who have conſpired to hide the truth from him, who are ſolely employed in preparing poiſon for his ears and his heart, and in gilding it over with an agreeable appearance: and who, under falſe pretences of the moſt profound reſpect to him, and the higheſt admiration of all he does, ſecretly make a jeſt of his folly, and deſpiſe him for his credulity. For, whoever are baſe enough to deceive their prince by miſrepreſentations, are alſo wicked enough to inſult him, when they have got him in hand, by depriving him of the affection of his ſubjects. And nothing ought to be more ſuſpected by a prince, who reads ancient hiſtories, than to perceive in them about him an affectation to

enter

enter into every meaſure he propoſes without diſtinction, and a want of courage to contradict him on any occaſion.

HENCE it is we may account for the juſtneſs of the aſſertion in the motto. Where evil counſellors have robbed a king and his kingdom of that wiſdom and equity, the diſcernment between truth and falſhood; and of that love for juſtice and the public good, which are the moſt eſſential qualities for promoting his own true happineſs, and that of his people, no wonder that he from a diſguſt at truth proceeds to a hatred thereof. For flattery will ſuffer none to come near him, but ſuch whoſe tongues are tipped with deceit, and deceive him into difficulties and dangers: the conſequences of which too often prove fatal to his family as well as his people; as may be exemplified in a moſt eminent manner from the hiſtory of Iſrael: where we read that ſovereign truth chaſtiſed the obſtinacy of a prince, who refuſed to give ear to wholſome counſel, and abandoned himſelf entirely to the miſguidance of violent and artful men, by ſuffering a *lying ſpirit* to delude him, and to prevail againſt all the remonſtrances of wiſe and faithful men, till he was utterly ruined.

I cannot, therefore, but greatly pity the ſituation of a prince, who is thus liable to be deceived; and muſt be certainly driven upon the brink of deſtruction by thoſe he gives moſt credit to, if he does not give very cloſe attention to the characters, which diſtinguiſh bad counſellors

from

from the ſincere and faithful. For, though the nation feel the bad effects of their ruinous meaſures, the flattering miniſter puts on an appearance of a true friend and faithful ſervant. It is only in the heart they differ, and the heart is inviſible.

Adulatio quam ſimilis eſt amicitiæ!

They both deſire to pleaſe, and fear to offend: they both ſtudy the prince's inclinations to follow them, or at leaſt that they may not oppoſe them imprudently: they are both aſſiduous, zealous and reſpectful: their profeſſions are the ſame: their attachment appears equal: their abilities and merit may alſo appear equal; and ſometimes the bad miniſter has in external advantages excelled the faithful counſellor, who may not have the ſame politeneſs, addreſs, and inſinuation. And when this is the caſe, and the bad miniſter has inſinuated himſelf into the heart of his royal maſter, and got all his prejudices and paſſions on his ſide, what can hinder his gaining the aſcendant? and if that is gained, the prince is undone: For, he to whom a King is ready to ſurrender himſelf, is a perſon of a dangerous ſpirit, who will abuſe the power he has obtained by falſe pretences, make it ſubſervient to his own paſſions, and attempt to inſpire his own inclinations into his ſovereign, under the ſhew of yielding entirely to his.

WAS not this the cauſe of all the diſcontent, which has ever been in this iſland between the ſovereign and his people? of all the ſorrow and

diſtreſſes

diſtreſſes of the royal family? and of the miſery to which the nation has been ſo often reduced by inteſtine broils and tyrannical meaſures? Had not *Charles* the *Firſt* preferred the council of his flattering courtiers to the plain dealing of his faithful ſubjects, he might have ſlept with his fathers in peace. His ſon James was undone and his family excluded from the throne, becauſe he delivered himſelf up to be guided by men of baſe and corrupt principles, and was adviſed by them to diſregard the remonſtrances of his ſtedfaſt friends.

HAD theſe princes ſuſpended their judgment, and examined more deliberately into the character of their favourite miniſters, who adviſed them to break through their contract with their ſubjects, and to introduce an arbitrary government, it is ſcarce probable that they would have yielded to ſuch pernicious councils. It is very unwiſe to give up our friendſhip and ear to bare appearances. And a prince, who by whim, caprice and merely to pleaſe his imagination, determines in a choice of ſo great conſequence to himſelf and to his people, deſerves to be deceived all his life, and ſeldom eſcapes the diſquietudes, which naturally multiply with bad meaſures.

HAPPY is it for princes, who deterred by the misfortunes of thoſe, who have ſuffered for their folly of preferring men, who deceive them, are careful not to attach themſelves to any perſon, who has any other intereſt than that of his country at heart, and whom they conſult with unreſerved

unreſerved confidence on all occaſions. On the contrary how dangerous would it be for a prince, to confine his enquiries and the diſtribution of his juſtice and favours to a few ſycophants, who having got into employment, find it their intereſt to play into one anothers hands, to conceal from him a part of what he ought to know, and to agree together in many points, notwithſtanding their different intereſts, and their ſecret hatred and jealouſy one of another, in order to render themſelves ſole maſters of all affairs, and confine the princes confidence wholly to themſelves; and hold him as it were captive in the narrow circle, within which they have impriſoned him?

One ſolely attach'd to the prince, upon conſtitutional principles, would be capable of breaking and diſconcerting that fatal combination againſt their maſter's liberty: and ſhould he be ſeconded by any other of equal probity, no artifice, no league would be able to hide itſelf, or ſupport itſelf againſt ſuch ſagacious and incorruptible miniſters.

His majeſty, therefore, can't be too attentive in the choice of a miniſtry, nor weigh its conſequences too maturely. If he is ſo happy to find ſuch men, as will know no other good but that of the public and their prince, he ought to put the higheſt value upon them, and attach them to him by an unreſerved confidence; which is the only tye, worthy of ſuch miniſters: and, if he diſcovers, that the complaints of his ſubjects, againſt the conduct of his former ſervants are

juſt,

juſt, that the nation has been greatly diſappointed and oppreſſed, and the crown diſgraced by their meaſures; he ought to employ all means to find ſuch, as ſhall act with more judgment and uprightneſs, and never give over the purſuit, till he has given his ſubjects the moſt convincing proof by the nomination of his miniſtry; that the king of Great-Britain deteſts the practice of thoſe princes, who ſeclude the men of merit and worth from their counſels, and make uſe of mean men and deſperadoes, to fleece and oppreſs their ſubjects.

Z.

No. 102. SATURDAY, *July* 2, 1757.

Juſtum, & tenacem propoſiti virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni,
Mente quatit ſolida. HOR.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

RESOLUTIONS are not to be taken without due conſideration of their rectitude, and of the means for carrying them into execution: neither ought they to be dropped, when formed upon equitable and neceſſary principles to detect

and correct ſome evil, or to procure and ſupport ſome laudable and juſt deſign.

For, according to Horace, neither the petulancy of a diſguſted people, nor the influence or obſtinacy of a king, ſhould be able to engage any one to yield to bad meaſures, or to aſſociate with bad men in the management of a truſt; if he be thoroughly convinced of their incapacity or negligence.

How ſuſpicious! how mercenary! how contemptible would be the pen, employed to deceive the inadvertent and ignorant reader into an opinion of a perſon, whoſe general conduct has brought him under the cenſure of every intelligent, impartial and obſervant ſpectator. What credit could be given to a writer, who attempts to corrupt the ſtream of public intelligence, with a weekly panagyric on the ſuperior abilities of a prime miniſter, whoſe neceſſities rendered him the dupe of a faction, aſpiring to a power unknown to, and deſtructive of the conſtitution of his country, and prompted him to adopt every meaſure they propoſed for enſlaving the people; and reducing the king to a neceſſity of ſubmitting to their new form of government? or a board of admiralty, whoſe direction was influenced by a lord abandoned to the perplexing monopoly of his time and thoughts at the gaming-table; when our trade, navigation, and property were ſuffering continual encroachments and loſs, for want of the protection, and defence, which was entruſted to his care, and poſtponed to the gratifi-

cation

cation of his paſſions? or on a ſecretary at war whoſe orders or letters, at a time the nation had need of the moſt diſtinct, conſiſtent and preremptory inſtructions to their officers, appeared obſcure, inconſiſtent and contradictory?

To ſtudy weakly arguments to exculpate theſe objects of public diſguſt and reſentment, and to perſuade the people to acquieſce in a *coalition* with ſuch ſtateſmen as have brought Great Britain to diſtreſs, under the ſtale pretence of acting upon *whiggiſh principles*, when ſuch a compromiſe would be the moſt effectual means of deſtroying that liberty, upon which thoſe principles are grounded, could be the intention of no well wiſher to Britain; or of any but a ſhameleſs mercenary ſcribler. An orator, that aſſumes the liberty either by ſpeech or writing to harangue the public in a political capacity, ſhould always keep the conſtitution of his country in view, and never, by favour, be prevailed upon to plead the cauſe of Rebellion, faction, or arbitrary power; nor by fear be deterred from detecting and purſuing the authors of thoſe meaſures, which threaten *the conſtitution* with deſtruction.

THAT ſuch was the view of the MONITOR, there can be no queſtion. Your patriotic conſtitutional ſyſtem was not only aſſerted, but explained in the ſecond number: where you engaged with the public to ſupport his preſent majeſty, his family, and a good adminiſtration, and to oppoſe bad government, frauds, abuſes, and faction. And hitherto having acted conſiſtent with

with this engagement, by offering the proper incenſe of praiſe to able and honeſt men, who have preſided at the head of affairs; by avoiding all peeviſh oppoſitions to the meaſures of an adminiſtration, and by detecting weak and wicked miniſters: ſhould a coalition take place; ſhould the gentlemen, ſo lately idolized by the nation for the rectitude of their actions, be overcome by the intrigues of a court to join with the heads of that adminiſtration, to whoſe miſconduct all the world has placed the loſſes, and diſgrace of Great Britain; then will be the time to convince your readers that no power, nor intereſt is capable of ſhaking your honeſt reſolution to give the people alarm in time; that, if poſſible, they may prevent their final ruin. Such a firmneſs in a writer will clear him from the ſuſpicion of being the hireling of a miniſtry, or the hungry genius of an avaricious bookſeller.

LET this be the chief object of your labours; to adhere ſtrictly to the conſtitution of your country; to avoid all *party*, and to regard no man's perſon, who enters into meaſures, which by long experience have been found deſtructive of its liberty, ruinous to its commerce, and inglorious to its ſovereign.

ALL the world have read your encomiums on thoſe able ſtateſmen, whom the corporations of theſe kingdoms diſtinguiſhed for their virtues, and the hopeful proſpect of better meaſures under their ſhort adminiſtration, while they made the intereſt of Britain the baſis of their actions

and

and councils: but, ſhould thoſe honourable gentlemen be led away by ambition or avarice; would either of them confeſs,

Video meliora, proboque deteriora ſequor,

The good that I would, I do not: but the evil, which I would not, that I do.

Should it be found that they are brought into captivity by uniting with members, who will not permit them to do good, but compel them to join in meaſures, which they in their own minds condemn; your impartiality and firmneſs muſt be proved by an abhorrence of ſuch an unnatural union, and by laying their faults before the people.

WHAT good could be expected from the eloquence and upright intentions of thoſe patriots, who purchaſed the love of their country by declaiming againſt corruption in high places? by their oeconomy of the public money? by their oppoſition to foreign forces, ſubſidiary and continental intereſts? by promoting a more natural and effectual, leſs burthenſome, and leſs hazardous defence, than a ſtanding army, againſt invaſions and rebellions? by enquiring into the loſs of Minorca? and by providing for the ſecurity of all the Britiſh dominions? ſhould they unite in council with men, whoſe power is formed on a faction, ſupported at the expence of the public treaſure, which is wanted to defeat the ſchemes of our enemies: whoſe ſyſtem for more than thirty years has been to ſecure a majority

of the peoples repreſentatives, either by force or corruption, and to multiply places and penſions, which now amount to little leſs, than has been neceſſary to defray the whole expence of a war with France. Whoſe attachments to the German policy was putting them upon every invention to impoveriſh Britain, to pay large ſubſidies for the ſupport of foreign armies, either to eat the bread of idleneſs, or to be ready for importation into this iſland, ſhould the people expreſs any diſſatisfaction at their diſtreſſes: who, on all occaſions, oppoſed a general militia and declared in favour of an unconſtitutional ſtanding army: and who were deemed the certain cauſe of the loſs of Minorca, and of the miſeries to which our plantations have been expoſed.

MIGHT not ſuch a coalition induce a belief that he, who was adored for his upright profeſſions, had veered about; deſerted the cauſe of his country; adopted the German meaſures, was never ſincere in his enquiry after the authors of our misfortunes, and only attentive to ſerve ſome private paſſion or intereſt in preference to his country?

WHERE is the equity of ſuch a change? where is the wiſdom? if his conduct was juſt: if his reſolution was well grounded, not to act with men obnoxious for their meaſures; if he breaks that reſolution, his country muſt condemn him: his popularity will be loſt: and, as on the like occaſions; will not ſuch *Machiavillian* aſſociates know how to remove him from

their cabals with contempt?

THUS, Mr. MONITOR, if you remain reſolved to ſtick cloſe to your original plan, in theſe great revolutions of ſtate, you are likely to find work enough, ſhould a late liſt of a new miniſtry take place. And your publication of theſe will convince your readers, that you are not wafted about with every miniſterial wind: and that the people are always to expect your aſſiſtance to detect *bad men* and *bad meaſures*.

IN the mean time let me indulge myſelf with a few reflections on the late unſettled poſture of the ſtate; where the Conteſt ſeems to have been, not who ſhall ſerve their king and country, but who ſhall get the moſt power; when every true friend of Britain was full of hopes, that merit would have been the only means of riſing.

WHAT muſt become of a nation already diſtreſſed for money at home, and inſulted by her enemies abroad, ſhould we find theſe hopes fruſtrated? We rejoiced to hear that it had been proclaimed in the ſenate and in the cabinet, that every thing ſhould be refuſed to party and ambition: that men ſhould be choſe for places, and not places ſeized upon and uſurped by men, whoſe fortunes, principles, or capacities had rendered them terrible or deſpicable to the nation: that every thing ſhould be uſeleſs but honour and probity: that corruption ſhould ceaſe; ſolicitations, calumny and miſrepreſentations ſhould loſe their effect: and that the royal wiſdom would ſhine in the appointment of ſuch ſervants,

who would ſuffer no injury, and do no wrong.

But ſhould it be our misfortune to hear that the management of any department is depoſited with men, who are enemies to the virtues of others; who are jealous of, and endeavour to calumniate their good qualities: who make themſelves judges of every bodys merit, and cannot bear that the prince ſhould eſteem and protect any but themſelves and their creatures; what muſt become of the liberties of Britain, and the ancient glory of this nation!

How happy would it be for princes on ſuch occaſions to take advice from impartial hiſtory, rather than from the intrigues of courtiers. It is found amongſt the commendations of *Trajan*, that he in all his promotions, firſt caſt his eye upon his nobles, particularly thoſe of ancient families: becauſe it is a ſhameful conduct, and argues great weakneſs to ſtudy to keep thoſe under, who ought to be the honour of the ſtate, and to diminiſh their courage, who ought to be the firſt in its defence. And in the panegyrics of other emperors, they are recorded to have been moſt attentive to do juſtice to thoſe, who executed their duty right in war; never to have advanced any one out of mere favour; nor laviſhed upon the unworthy the marks of honour, reſerved for virtue; nor depreciated rewards in beſtowing them in common on the cowardly and brave; and to have exemplified their wiſdom by diſtinguiſhing between a great and an ordinary man; and by regulating the manner in which they

they rewarded merit. For, there is nothing that diſtinguiſhes the wiſdom and diſcernment of a prince more than the proportion he makes between what he gives and what he deſerves.

He ought not to inflame avarice in doing juſtice to virtue itſelf; for then he perverts merit by rewarding it; and puts it out of his own power to do juſtice to all. Thus we have ſeen officers courageous and zealous for their king and country before they were rich; but too much in love with life, and careleſs of their duty, from the time they became loaden with riches.

O.

No. 103. SATURDAY, *July* 9, 1757.

Indeed, either it is a remedy for a languiſhing and almoſt incurable ſtate of a government, corrupted and contaminated by the infectious vices of a few, that men of honeſty, integrity, and application ſhould take upon them the direction: or, if this is ineffectual, the diſeaſe is too far gone, and too much complicated to admit of a remedy.

Tully againſt Cæcilius.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

IT appears in the courſe of this oration againſt Cæcilius, that one of the chief, and moſt

dreadful conſequences of Sylla's adminiſtration was an univerſal degeneracy of the Roman ſtate; at a time when the ſtricteſt exerciſe of their virtue was required.

A GOVERNOR of one of their iſlands diſtinguiſhed himſelf by every art of oppreſſion, cruelty and avarice; ſeveral others were encouraged by his impunity to adopt the example in their reſpective provinces. At Rome the people were impoveriſhed and diminiſhed by levies of men and money, and abroad they were in danger of becoming vaſſals to the nations, over whom they had often triumphed. The ſenate was become venal: their officers both by ſea and land either cowards or unable to fight their battels: every place of profit or truſt was filled by men of deſperate fortunes or tyrannical principles: and the moſt obnoxious ſervant of the public was ſecure of an intereſt with *Hortenſius*, whoſe eloquence, ſubtlety in pleading, and knowledge of the law, were diſplayed to prevent him being brought to a tryal for the imbezzlement or miſapplication of the national treaſure; for his neglect or perverting of the public intereſt, and for his oppreſſive and unconſtitutional meaſures.

THIS ruinous proſpect of the liberties of the Roman people, provoked not only the citizens of Rome, but their provincials, to ſeek for relief and juſtice againſt bad governors. Sicily retained Cicero in the cauſe of liberty: *they told me*, ſays TULLY, *that* now *was the time; the*

time! for my defending not the intereſts, but the lives and properties of a whole people.

A criſis, which will always happen in every nation and commonwealth diſtreſſed by the avarice, inſolence, villany and incapacity of its governors: and then is the time a country has a right to ſolicit her friends to exert their utmoſt endeavours to bring to juſtice the man, who has brought them into diſgrace, and to procure a change of thoſe meaſures, which would complete their ruin.

"IMMORTAL GODS! *cries the orator*, can I "at this day do my country nobler ſervice? can "I do any thing more agreeable to the Roman "people, of greater advantage to our moſt di- "ſtant friends and allies, or more for the ſafety "of the liberties and properties of mankind in "general?"

WOULD not this be the language, the reſolution, the endeavours of every true Briton, ſhould he live to ſee the adminiſtration committed to men of whoſe juſtice, conduct and capacity they had the greateſt reaſon to complain? whoſe ambition had led them to attack the liberty, and whoſe prodigality had put them upon meaſures to conſume the property of the nation?

To ſee the advocates for a ſtanding army: to ſee the ſame men, who attempted to rule by bribing the people and corrupting their repreſentatives: to ſee the very miniſters reſtored to their power, who connived at the oppreſſion, cruelty, and avarice of their creatures; plundered, har-

raſſed, and almoſt ruined Great Britain to ſupport a foreign intereſt, and kept our fleets inactive and our army uſeleſs, while the enemy was penetrating into the heart of our provinces in America, and our commerce up the Mediterranean was in danger of being totally deſtroyed by the loſs of Minorca; would be ſufficient to rouſe up all that is Britiſh in us. It would inſtantly put us in mind of thoſe people, who were free, till they complimented their ſovereign with the power of an army of mercenaries entirely ſubject to his command. It would produce the diſagreeable plan of that miniſtry, which multiplied places, and created penſions to ſecure elections, and to maintain an undue influence in the ſenate. And it would threaten us with the terror of new devices to raiſe and to pay armies to ſupport the intereſt and to fight the battles of foreign ſtates, in preference to the ſafety of our own dominions.

In ſuch a criſis that pen would do the beſt ſervice to its country, act moſt agreeable to the ſentiments of the nation, and more for the advantage of our colonies, and indeed for the liberties of Europe in general, to ſhew, that Britain muſt be ruined, whenever the parliament ſhall be corrupted to grant more money than the people can raiſe, and to apply the riches and ſtrength of the nation to ſervices, where ſhe has no intereſt. Becauſe when ſhe has ſquandred away her treaſure in the payment of ſubſidies, penſions and forces in time of peace, or attempts to engage in a war on the continent, which muſt diſable

diſable her from providing for her own ſecurity, Britain will ſoon be cruſhed by the weight laid upon her by her own ſervants, and at laſt find her grave in the ruins of thoſe liberties, which ſhe, by giving up her own, was unable to maintain by an unnatural connection with the quarrels of German princes.

How much this obſervation deſerves credit, may be collected from a ſeries of continental meaſures, adopted at firſt to cover the Dutch from the power of France, and continued with the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the throne of theſe kingdoms, to favour the projects and intereſt of that illuſtrious family: tho' I muſt confeſs they have been always gilded over with the pretence of maintaining the *ballance* of Europe.

KING WILLIAM's declaration of war, immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, againſt France, has too evident a mark of his love for his native country; laid the foundation of that ſyſtem, which prevailed ever after in the Britiſh councils, to make us principals in all the quarrels of our allies on the continent; and was the occaſion of that clauſe in the act of ſettlement, whereby it was enacted, in the twelfth and thirteenth of William III. 'That in caſe the crown 'and imperial dignity of this realm ſhould hereafter come to any perſon, not being a native 'of this kingdom of England, this nation ſhould 'not be obliged to engage in any war for the 'defence of any dominions or territories, which 'do

'do not belong to the crown of England, Scot-'land, or Ireland, without conſent of parlia-'ment.' Such was the care of the legiſlature, to prevent the many bad effects, which they had found to be derived from an over-weaning affection in their ſovereign towards his countrymen and foreign attachments.

It was certain that a war with France was unavoidable: but this ſhould have been confined to our natural ſtrength, our navy by ſea; and our militia at home. For, what did we get by all the expenſive campaigns made by his majeſty on the continent? was not the nation diſſatisfied that a foreign intereſt obliged them to carry on a war, when the enemy had frequently ſued for peace? till at laſt the commons addreſſed his majeſty *to take care for the future, that this kingdom be put upon an equal foot and proportion with the allies, in bearing the charge of the preſent war*. And, in the end, the intereſt of the Dutch at the treaty of Nimeguen was more regarded than that of England.

The Dutch made thus ſenſible of the advantages they reaped from their connections with England, could not remain long without making a further trial of this new eſſay towards improving their trade and power. Thus we ſoon find them picking a quarrel with France, and imploring the aid of Britain, and King William recommending their protection and defence to the parliament, as eſſential to the ſafety and well-being of England, under the novel doctrine of

main-

maintaining the liberty and balance of Europe.

THE reſolutions and meaſures taken in England upon this new Dutch quarrel juſtified, or rather provoked the French court to proclaim the pretender king of England upon the death of King James II, which happened at this juncture of time; and laid the foundation of that long, expenſive and bloody war, which continued almoſt to the death of Queen Anne; and after eleven campaigns in favour of the Dutch and the Emperor in Flanders, Germany, France and Spain, increaſed our taxes, emptied our exchequer, introduced an unhappy plan for a wicked miniſter, on all occaſions, to plunder and exact ſubſidies for neighbouring powers.

THUS, for more than twenty years, exactions, oppreſſions and poverty increaſed with our continental connections. When they were enraged to ſee their vitals torn away to pay foreign armies, and their treaſure ſquandered without effect, of which they never were able to receive the benefits, their complaints were anſwered by the neceſſity of ſupporting the balance of Europe: when they oppoſed new taxes they were accuſed of diſaffection: and when they were provoked to cry out for juſtice againſt their domeſtic enemies, and required that bad miniſters, evil counſellors, and public robbers ſhould be cited to trial, and dragged from behind the throne, they were cenſured as wretches without thought, hurrying on their own and country's deſtruction, ignorant of the true principles of policy, and without

without regard for the balance of Europe.

HAPPY had it been for Britain could ſhe even then have cleared herſelf of thoſe *balance-maſters*. Her debts would not have increaſed to the incredible ſum of eighty millions ſterling; nor her inhabitants reduced to pay ſuch extraordinary taxes, that it even now puzzles to find out ways and means to raiſe money for neceſſary uſes. But ſuch was the power of this new ſyſtem of balancing, that every adminiſtration ſince that time have, from year to year, improved it for their own advantage; to fix the attention, while they took our money from us; and made themſelves ſecure againſt all poſſibility of detection, while they filled our ears with their care and labour to maintain the ballance of Europe; which, by the preſent junction of the powers of France, Hungary, and Ruſſia, appears either not to have been in their power, or not their intention to maintain.

I AM not inſenſible that this ſyſtem has been ſometimes driven to ſuch an extreme, as to make its abettors doubtful of ſucceſs: in which caſe the ſtate-conjurers very dextrouſly introduced the invaſion-Bugbear, and haunted every corner of the nation with the phantom of a pretender. With theſe political engines how effectually did they ſqueeze the purſes? how did they over-awe the conſtitution with a ſtanding army of ſoldiers and placemen at home? how deeply did they entrench themſelves in power by keeping up an army of hirelings abroad?

Is it not a melancholy reflection, to be told, that the two great land wars, which were main-

tained with ſo great expence, and purſued with ſuch honour, were no better than illuſtrious deviations from the ſtrait road, which true Britiſh policy would direct us to purſue.

But whatever gilded appearances may be produced to palliate or adorn thoſe ſplendid grievances, nothing can be ſaid in the defence of thoſe, who have reduced Britain to its preſent circumſtances of diſtreſs at home and abroad; and nothing but the remedy propoſed by Tully in my motto, will be able to reſtore our conſtitution to its ancient vigour and ſtrength.

Our misfortunes have been brought on by the vices of a few. Corruption adopted by theſe rules will naturally ſpread and infect the whole body politic. A change of meaſures may ſtill ſave us from deſtruction: honeſty, integrity and application in thoſe at the helm can work our redemption. Men who will enter into no alliances, but ſuch as are eſſential to the well being of this nation, and engage in no quarrel beyond their national ſtrength, and the intrinſic value of their finances: men who make the reduction of our expences the reformation of our manners, and the healing of our diviſions the only object of their concern; need not have recourſe to the ruinous expedients of a continental war, to raiſe money, and of a ſubſidiary army to guard us from invaſions. And if there be any belief in men: if we place our dependance upon the royal word, we may hope that the diſeaſe is not too far gone, nor too much complicated to admit of

a remedy: for his majeſty has moſt graciouſly declared againſt all thoſe connections, which involved this nation in foreign wars, and diverted the appointments of the public treaſure to improper uſes. "The ſuccour and preſervation of "my dominions in America, ſays he, have been "my conſtant care; and next to the ſecurity of "my kingdoms, they ſhall continue to be my "great and principal object."—As to the ſupply, he is pleaſed to aſſure us, *that it ſhall be applied only to the purpoſes for which it was intended.*

IT ſeems reaſonable therefore to expect, and till there be full conviction of the contrary, we ſhould believe, that it will be the happineſs of the preſent age, to ſhine in the annals of poſterity for reſuming thoſe meaſures, which have immortalized the wiſdom and actions of thoſe, who purchaſed our liberties, and, by confining their riches and ſtrength to their own cauſe, made themſelves reſpectable to all the world.

P.

No. 104. SATURDAY, *July* 16, 1757.

——Loyalty is ſtill the ſame,
Whether it win or loſe the game;
True as the dial to the ſun,
Although it be not ſhin'd upon.

HUDIBRAS.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

HAD not the public more intereſt in the ſubject of this paper than myſelf, you would not have received theſe animadverſions on a temporizing writer. The *Conteſt* has preſumed to call me to an account; he has perverted truth, and ſtigmatized my ESSAY, publiſhed by you on the ſecond of July, with being the effect of paſſion and diſappointment.

THE principle upon which that eſſay was penned, was loyal, was conſtitutional. It was calculated for the ſervice of both king and country; by declaring againſt ſuch men, who ſtrive for power to deceive and diſtreſs their ſovereign; and againſt meaſures, which tend to weaken and impoveriſh the people, and to deſtroy their liberties.

WHAT muſt be thought of a writer, who ventures to miſname theſe principles, *impetuous reſo-*

reſolutions of a conceited imagination? Do not we know that in ſuch *coalitions* the odds lie againſt virtue? it is an old and ſacred proverb, *that evil communication corrupts good manners.* Where is the Briton that does not feel the bad effects of the adminiſtration referred to on that occaſion? our grievances have not been imaginary: neither can a juſt dread of returning into the ruinous ſchemes of men, who wanted either abilities or honeſty to defend our property and preſerve our conſtitution, deſerve the character of ſelf-ſufficiency and paſſion.

To ſuppoſe that your correſpondent, Mr. MONITOR! is the only Engliſhman, that has taken offence at a late coalition, is a notorious attempt on the underſtanding of the reader, or an open confeſſion of the letter writer's circumſcribed knowledge of his fellow ſubjects. Let him aſk; let him conſult only the countenance of every friend of Cæſar, and of the Britiſh conſtitution, and he will diſcover an univerſal diſlike of thoſe men, who neglected our intereſt in America, applied our treaſure to the uſes of German councils, and loſt Minorca.

How inconſiſtent with truth is the inſinuation of my accuſing a virtuous man of perfidy and immorality? the furious declamation, which, he ſays, was uttered with all the rhetorical rage of invective, amounts to no more than a caution for him to beware of being drawn into meaſures, which his own conſcience condemns as ruinous to his country. This is my meaning; and to join

join in council with men obnoxious for measures repugnant to the intereſt of the kingdom, is in a moral and theological ſenſe called preſumption, or leading into temptation, truſting too much upon our own virtue.

It is very extraordinary that this writer, who pretends cooly to point out the equity and wiſdom of the *coalition*, is obliged to ſuppoſe the very thing every body cannot believe, That there were ſome *well-meaning ones* in that miniſtry, to whoſe miſconduct ſo many misfortunes and loſſes are aſcribed: was it the firſt lord of the treaſury; who for the glory of the Britiſh name, ſo generouſly circulated our money amongſt foreign princes? was it the ſecretary of ſtate, who ſmuggled the letters, advices and memorials concerning the French encroachments in America? was it the firſt lord of the admiralty, who kept the greateſt fleet that Britain ever had to watch the uncertain intelligence of a few flat bottomed, or fiſhing boats in the ports of the channel, while the enemy took from us the only ſecurity of our trade up the Mediterranean? if thoſe great officers of ſtate may be numbered amongſt the well meaning; I am afraid the letter writer will be obliged to admit them among another ſet of men, who, having no abilities or reſolution to do what is right, are very improper to be reinſtated in thoſe places of truſt, in which we have great expectations, and for which they had been found inſufficient; and conſequently he will be very far from pointing out the equity and wiſdom of

ſuch a coalition. However I readily grant, 'That 'there can be no reaſonable inducement what-'ever, to engage a candid mind, to ſuſpect any 'one of future perfidy; but the knowledge or 'ſuſpicion of his having been guilty of ſome paſt 'act of treachery; or of his being ſtigmatized, as 'a perſon of immoral character in general.'

In order to create a belief that the remnant of that miniſtry, which is ſtitched up in the coalition, and of the number of the well meaning; he aſſures us, that they are fatally convinced of their errors; that their former plan was *deſtructive*; and that they are zealouſly deſirous to make *reparation* to their *injured* king and country. How does all this repentance appear! have not they taken the utmoſt and moſt effectual pains to cover their errors? did they not obtain, in defiance of FACTS, a confirmation of their conduct in regard to the loſs of Minorca? was it ever known that one guilty of a breach of truſt was, by way of pennance and reſtitution, reſtored to his place, and the confidence of his maſter, in preference to the juſt and faithful ſervant?

To plead for the neceſſity of ſuch a coalition, is to deny the poſſibility of managing the engine of ſtate without the principal wheels, on which the nation was almoſt broke down. And to take the liberty to aſſert that the ſovereign would look upon a refuſal to act with thoſe, whom his ſubjects diſclaimed for purſuing a deſtructive plan, is little leſs than making him an acceſſary to their meaſures, or numbering him amongſt the well meaning ones. If promiſes of amend-

ment,

ment, to forſake bad meaſures; when the nation is ready to ſink under their weight; and to unite in ſalutary expedients, founded upon a regular conſtitutional ſyſtem; when nothing has been left unattempted to deſtroy the conſtitution by extending the prerogative, penal laws and a ſtanding army; be all that is required to prove the ſorrow and repentance, the wiſdom and integrity of ſuch men; how cruel thoſe princes and laws, where nothing leſs than liberty, eſtates and life have been adjudged to attone to the public for ſuch crimes?

How ſhall we be able to make a favourable diſtinction between *men* and *their meaſures*, and be perſuaded of their abilities and integrity for the future, ſhould they perſiſt in the defence of their former conduct? is not this the very caſe? will not the reſolutions upon the ENQUIRY into the loſs of Minorca, ſhew it to be true, that their meaſures rendered them obnoxious? and that the patriot, who refuſed to enter into their councils, acted for the intereſt of his king and country: becauſe ſuch coadjutors, by maintaining their footing near the throne, by their former means of ſlandering his majeſty's beſt ſubjects, and improving the opportunity of the royal ear to their private advantage, might be juſtly ſuſpected of forfeiting their engagements, and of reviving their former unnatural ſchemes of adminiſtration, whenever virtue ſhall ſtand in the way of their particular views.

ALL this I find may be granted. But ſays he,

'I cannot conceive that any power on earth can 'compel an honeſt and brave man to act againſt 'his conſcience; neither do I know of any cap- 'tivity, which can fetter a ſtateſman, and oblige 'him to continue united to men, ſhould they 'refuſe to perform the conditions of their union.' Has not the wiſeſt man been led away by concupiſcence? is it not ſelf evident that no man thoroughly knows his own heart? every one is enticed and led away by ſome favourite luſt. Ambition, avarice, love and hatred, and even the importunity of a friend, the command of a ſuperior, and ſometimes an unwillingneſs to appear ſingular and refractory, have debaſed the reputation, and weakened the reſolution of many a ſtateſman, till then accounted both honeſt and brave, and placed him amongſt the *well-meaning* witneſſes of his country's misfortunes.

I AM confident, nobody can accuſe the gentlemen of treachery, or of a general immoral character, who for many years oppoſed corruption, and the ruinous ſchemes under the adminiſtration of SIR Robert Walpole: yet they, who can remember the *coalition* upon that miniſter's removal, muſt bear me witneſs, that honours and powers, obſequiouſneſs and fear of being ſtigmatized with obſtinacy, and contempt of their ſovereign, influenced many of thoſe very men, who had appeared moſt zealous in their country's cauſe *before* the coalition, to remain idle ſpectators of worſe meaſures than they had decried with ſo much truth, vigour and eloquence.

THUS

THUS our diffidence is juſtified by paſt occurrences, and warranted by preſent appearances We have ſeen the advocates for liberty, the abhorrers of miniſterial corruption, and the enemies of continental meaſures, become dupes to a *coalition*, whoſe plan was deſtructive to the intereſt of theſe kingdoms. And the preſent compromiſe which takes ſanctuary under the command of our ſovereign and the public good, being ſtruck up with men, whoſe repentance of paſt errors is only viſible in their rancour at thoſe, who cannot forget their miſconduct, and in their aſpiring to the ſummit, which a few months ago they were not able to maintain, gives but little hopes of amendment; except we might rely on Mr. *Conteſt*'s aſſertion, That they no longer differ with Mr. *P*—— about the means of ſerving their country.

BUT I fear this may have as little foundation, as the factious inſinuation, which immediately follows; that *party* had any ſhare in the determination of that great and worthy patriot, who ſo long rejected all offers of a coalition with men obnoxious to his country. Becauſe a certain ſpeech met with ſo many rubs in its paſſage to the public, that it is highly probable all parties in the coalition did not agree unanimouſly in the contents; and was not this one of the firſt acts of their councils? And it may to his great reputation be affirmed, Mr. *P*—— was ſo far from ruling by party during his ſhort adminiſtration, that he hit upon the grand maxim of diſintereſted

intereſted ſervice of his king and country, which by uniting the intelligent and well-meaning of all denominations to promote the public good, deſtroyed all party connections; which was ſo far from introducing a combination of men, or an inſult upon the prerogative, or a violation of the conſtitution, that it promiſed the people a free exerciſe of their rights and liberties; the king a ſupport of his crown and dignity, and a permanent ſecurity to the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

WHAT remains is perſonal: I ſhall therefore give Mr. *Conteſt* a very ſhort anſwer. I have not been diſappointed, nor ever had any ambitious views. I am only concerned, as Hudibras writes, for fear

Both parties join to do their beſt
To damn the public intereſt:
And ſhould herd only in conſults
To put by one anothers bolts.
And lug at both ends of the ſaw;
To tear down government and law.
For as two cheats, that play one game,
Are both defeated of their aim:
So they, who play a *game at ſtate*,
And only *cavil* in debate,
Altho' there's nothing loſt or won,
The public buſineſs is undone,
Which ſtill the longer 'tis in doing
Becomes the ſureſt way to ruin.

I have never been of any party: nor adopted rancour, nor am intent to ſerve private paſſion and intereſt in preference to my country. I am a Royaliſt

Whoſe duty never was defeated
Nor from his oaths and faith retreated.

And ſhall ſo remain whether enlightened by the beams of a court, or employed in promoting loyalty to my ſovereign, unanimity amongſt my fellow ſubjects, or diffidence againſt men, who have done nothing to deſerve the confidence of the public.

O.

F I N I S.

127

Lately publiſhed,

(In Octavo, Price 2 s. 6 d.)

By the MONITOR.

An Account of the FACTS which appeared on the late ENQUIRY into the Loss of MINORCA.

From *authentick Papers.*

The SECOND EDITION.

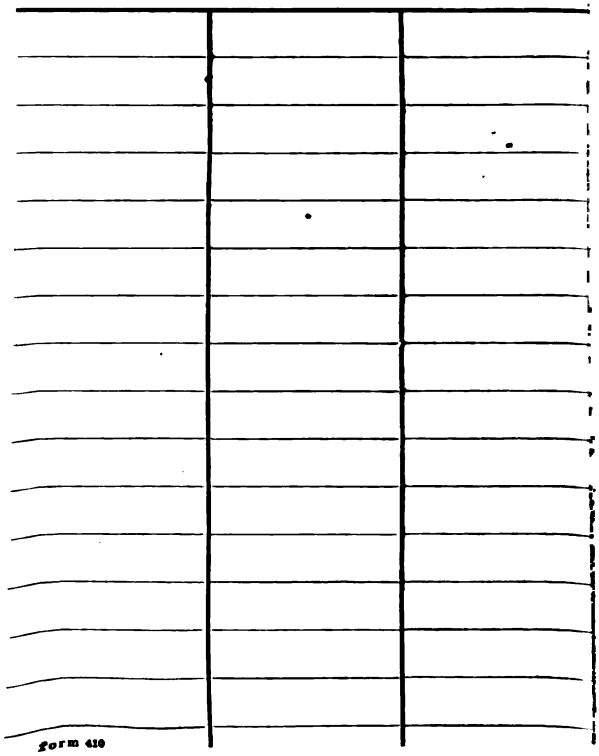
Sold by J. SCOTT in *Pater-noſter-Row.*

3'

X.a.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building



Form 410